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**THE** *Southwestern*  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY**

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Role of a Civil Service

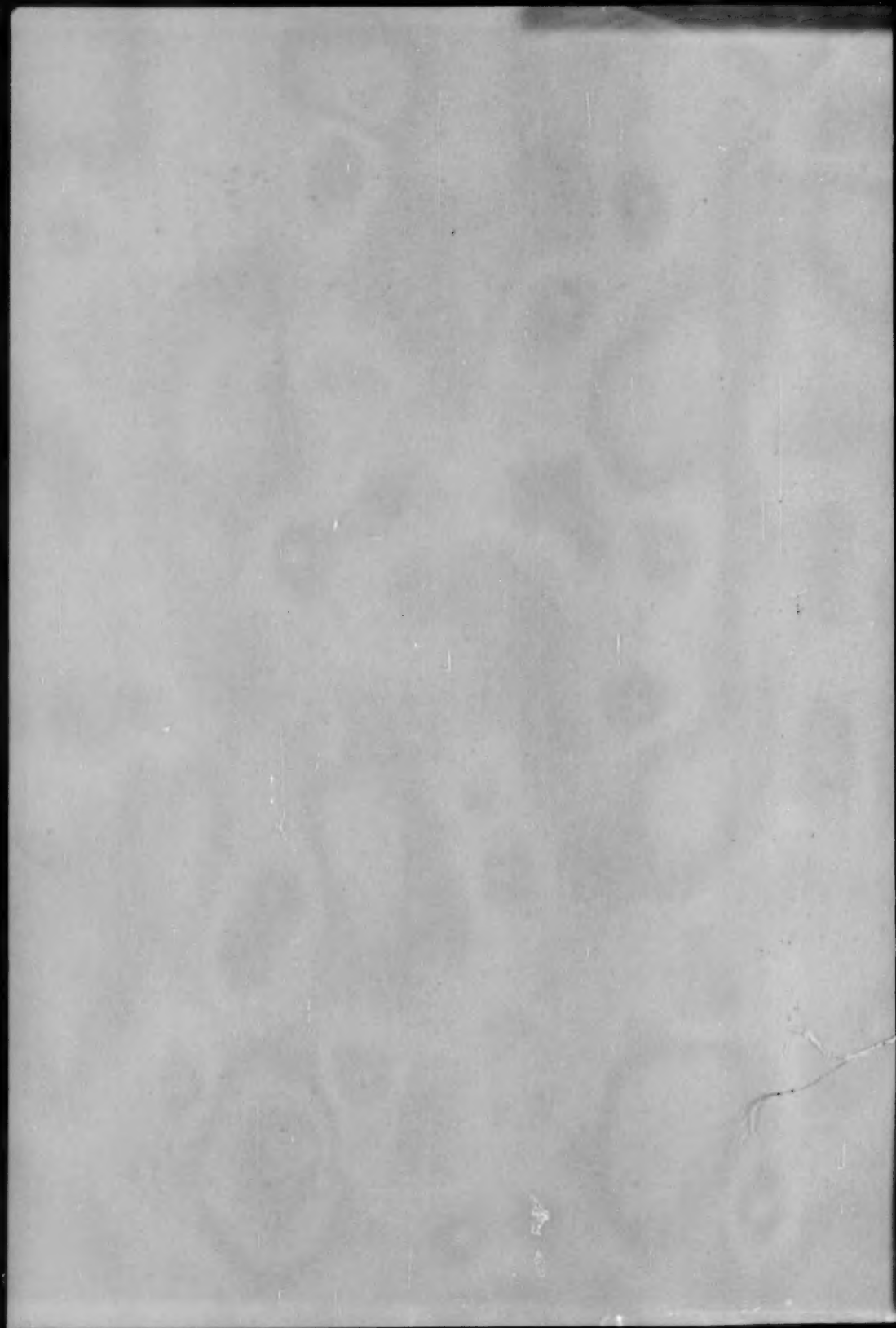
MAX MARK

Social Forces in Petition-Signing

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# Schumacher's Successors: The Personal Factor in the Shaping of Contemporary German Social Democracy

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THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY of Germany (S.P.D.), revived in 1945 after twelve years of Nazi repression and extrusion, has emerged as the largest Socialist party in continental Europe and the second largest party in the Bonn Bundestag. By 1949 the party, under the dynamic leadership of Kurt Schumacher, could claim a membership of over 700,000 persons in western Germany, more than twice the membership of the Christian Democratic Union and 17 per cent more than the membership of the S.P.D. in the same area during the Weimar period.<sup>1</sup> In the elections to the first and second Bundestags, on August 14, 1949, and September 6, 1953, 29 per cent of the voters of the Federal Republic cast their ballots for S.P.D. deputies in the lower house of the federal parliament. The S.P.D. has become His Majesty's Opposition in a state which has neither definitive frontiers nor formal constitution nor throne, but which has recognized Konrad Adenauer, the dominating personality of the Christian Democratic Union, as its uncrowned king.

The contemporary policies of the S.P.D. have received much attention in the American press and some study by American scholars.<sup>2</sup> How the S.P.D. behaves politically is well known. *Why* it behaves as it does is unclear to most Americans. Yet, it is, and will remain, important to understand why the S.P.D., in the most formative period of its history since the era of the First

<sup>1</sup> Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des Parteitag der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands vom 21. bis 25. Mai 1950 in Hamburg* (Frankfurt, n.d. [1950]), p. 31. In 1950 there were 736,218 members of the S.P.D. in western Germany, 126,006 more than before 1933. The increase can be accounted for in whole or in part by the presence in western Germany of many refugees who had lived in the eastern provinces prior to 1945 or 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Henry L. Bretton, "The German Social Democratic Party and the International Situation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 47 (December, 1953), pp. 980-97. See also Bretton's chapter on the S.P.D. in James K. Pollock (ed.), *German Democracy at Work, a Selective Study* (Ann Arbor, 1955).

World War, adopted the policy of negativism and nationalism which it has followed in recent years. Policy-makers today and historians tomorrow will inevitably seek explanations for the behavior of the S.P.D., even if the party should be doomed by its own negativism to remain nothing more nor less than His Majesty's Opposition.

The factors that shaped the postwar policy of the S.P.D. were complex. Because of the tremendous influence of Kurt Schumacher within the party, the personal background of this man must be included among them. A veteran of the First World War (he was twenty-two when it ended), Schumacher took a university degree at Münster when the Weimar Republic was in its infancy. Before 1933 he served party and republic in provincial and national parliaments. Although he lacked trade-union experience, he overcame this liability through a record of dedication to the cause of organized labor. As a party journalist during the twenties he won experience which uniquely equipped him for the role he played best after 1945, that of an unrelenting, sharp-tongued polemicist. His record of opposition against Nazism was unambiguous: almost a decade in Hitler's concentration camps left him with ruined health and an embittered mind and soul. With much truth, it has been said that "Kurt Schumacher was all fight."<sup>3</sup> His enemies have suggested that he reshaped Social Democracy to match his own twisted personality. As a single explanation of S.P.D. policy, this suffers the weakness of any single-factor explanation of a complicated social and political phenomenon, but the thesis cannot be ignored completely. Schumacher's experiences created a unique personality and gave him certain charismatic qualities of leadership which do not lend themselves to statistical demonstration. It was this loss of leadership, not of purpose; of dynamics, not of direction, that the S.P.D. suffered when Schumacher died on August 20, 1952,<sup>4</sup> during the tenure of the first Bundestag. Possibly because Schumacher himself had given the deputies much of his own purpose and direction, possibly because he only reflected theirs, their policies have changed little, though since his death they have been led by a very different man.

Schumacher's heir as chairman of the S.P.D., Erich Ollenhauer, was born in 1901 in Magdeburg, a city now part of Soviet Germany. Ollenhauer joined the labor movement during the trying days of 1919 and a year later, at nineteen, entered the Executive Committee of the Socialist youth move-

<sup>3</sup> *Arbeit und Freiheit, Informationsblätter der SPD* (Bonn), September, 1952, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The party-sponsored collection of biographical material on Schumacher has recently been completed: Arno Scholz and Walter G. Oschilewski (eds.), *Turmwächter der Demokratie: ein Lebensbild von Kurt Schumacher* (3 vols., Berlin, 1952-54). Enzo Collotti, "La Socialdemocrazia Tedesca 1945-1953" (*Occidente*, Vol. 10 [November-December, 1954], pp. 580-614), presents a valuable survey of trends and forces of the Schumacher period. Useful background material is provided by Erich Matthias, *Sozialdemokratie und Nation* (Stuttgart, 1952).

ment of Germany. During the twenties he rose to the chairmanship of this organization, struggling vainly but vigorously to hold back the drift of German youth to Communism and Nazism. Ollenhauer entered the Executive Committee of the S.P.D. in April, 1933, some two months after Hitler's advent to power. It was a supreme act of faith in the future of German Socialism to enter the party executive at that time. In May, Ollenhauer was on his way to Prague, first lap of the emigration route of the S.P.D. leaders who left Germany rather than face confinement in Hitler's concentration camps. In the year that the Saar voters regained their German citizenship, Hitler deprived Ollenhauer of his. The Nazis moved against Czechoslovakia in 1938 and Ollenhauer moved to Paris; the Nazi armies invaded France in 1940 and Ollenhauer moved to Britain; when the Nazi armies were crushed, Ollenhauer in 1946 returned to Germany. From the time of his return until August, 1952, he served quietly but devotedly as Schumacher's deputy chairman. When Schumacher died, both the S.P.D. Executive Committee and the Party Congress approved Ollenhauer as his successor, bypassing a number of competitors who had opposed the policies Schumacher bequeathed to the party. That the change of leadership brought no important changes in the purposes and direction of the S.P.D. suggests that the roots of party policies since 1945 grew much deeper and extended over a broader area than can be imagined through analysis of the personalities of the two postwar party chairmen. One must ask why the party recognized the leadership of Kurt Schumacher in the first place, and why it has continued his hard-hitting policies, and even intensified them, under the leadership of "the bourgeois looking and bourgeois speaking Ollenhauer."<sup>5</sup>

Some of the factors which shaped party policy after 1945 are to be found in the history of the S.P.D. during the past half-century. Party traditions as they developed prior to 1914; transformations that occurred as the First World War brought epic sacrifices and disabling divisions within the party; memories of cruel rewards by the German people for the assumption of racking responsibilities during the years that Germany first tried republican government; recollection of the defeats administered in 1932-33 by a movement that rode to power on a program of nationalism and negativism; bitter suspicions and hatreds left by a dozen years of enforced absence from Germany or incarceration in her concentration camps; misgivings created by the stubborn refusal of the capitalistic system to fall, even under the impact of two global wars—all these products of the stormiest era in modern German history preconditioned discussion of high-level policy within the S.P.D. after 1945.

Contemporary sociopolitical circumstances also demanded recognition in any policy the party might formulate. In drafting postwar policy, the S.P.D.

<sup>5</sup> *Deutsche Korrespondenz* (Bonn), No. 52 (September 9, 1952), p. 3.

was forced to face such unblinkable facts of postwar life in Germany as the realities of the collapse and division of Germany in 1945 and the fact of the "Cold War" in the years that followed; the dilemma of reconciling internationalistic principles with the desires of all Germans for national reunification; a belief that it cannot hope to become a majority party until the Protestant proletarians of eastern Germany (especially those of the "Red" industrial slums of Berlin and Leipzig) are reunited with the Bonn Republic to counterbalance the support which Adenauer almost automatically gets in a West Germany that is almost half Catholic;<sup>6</sup> the desire to remain internationalists and yet to oppose effectively a government which, under Adenauer, has made great contributions to the cause of European integration; and the need to win the support of nonworker voters if it is to become more than the *second* largest party in West Germany, and yet a sobering awareness that the S.P.D., now as before 1933, must depend chiefly upon the continuing support of organized labor for its strength. These and the historical factors reviewed above all survived Schumacher and help explain why his departure brought no significant change in party policy.

Still another factor, usually ignored, helps to explain the nature of S.P.D. policies and their continuation after Schumacher's death, and suggests how these policies might yet be altered. This factor was hinted at by Ollenhauer when he said in 1952 that S.P.D. policies had been "developed and decided by the governing bodies of the Party as a whole."<sup>7</sup> Policy decisions were made neither by Kurt Schumacher, charismatic though his personality was, nor by the impersonal forces of history and contemporary political sociology, but by key *men* in the S.P.D. The 131 deputies who sat in the first Bundestag (1949-53) had done much to formulate party policy before they were elected deputies, and they played a key role in both the implementation and further refinement of policy after 1949. Inescapably they made the S.P.D. in their own image. Any attempt to explain S.P.D. policy without reference to the group biography of the Bundestag deputies is bound to be incomplete.<sup>8</sup> Besides helping to explain the policies of the S.P.D. in the period 1949-53, knowledge about the men whom Social Democrats elected to represent them in the Bundestag indirectly throws considerable light upon the nature of German Social Democracy as a broad political movement. It also affords a basis for a more accurate appraisal of the chances for a change in S.P.D.

<sup>6</sup> Carlo Schmid, top S.P.D. spokesman on foreign policy, frankly expressed his party's pessimism about the possibility of future election victories in the western German state in conversations with the author of this paper in the spring of 1954. The population of western Germany is about 44 per cent Catholic. The population of Germany as a whole was only about 37 per cent Catholic before the Second World War.—Klaus Mehnert and Heinrich Schulte (eds.), *Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1953* (Essen, 1953), pp. 463-65.

<sup>7</sup> Social Democratic Party of Germany, *News from Germany*, September, 1952, p. 3 (italics supplied).

<sup>8</sup> This aspect is ignored by Bretton, *op. cit.*

policy than can otherwise be obtained. Fortunately, a semiofficial handbook of the Bundestag, published in 1950, provides separate and slightly varying biographical sketches of each of the S.P.D. (and other) deputies.<sup>9</sup> What follows is based upon a statistical analysis of the biographies of the 131 S.P.D. deputies of 1949, 83 of whom were re-elected to the Bundestag in 1953.<sup>10</sup>

It was no easy task to attract persons of experience and proven loyalty to the S.P.D. during the first months that followed the collapse of Hitler's Reich. Many of the pre-1933 leaders had "fled from Germany, turned Nazi, or been pensioned by the Nazis in 1933, and no longer cared to participate in politics." Many of the sorely needed party intellectuals in particular were "either in exile or had been killed in concentration camps."<sup>11</sup> It is against this background that the experiences of the men elected to the Bundestag by Socialist voters in 1949 must be reviewed. Twenty-two had emigrated to protest against, or to escape from, Nazism; 50 had suffered imprisonment or arrest, lost positions, were denied professional privileges, or otherwise suffered persecution under the Nazis. It may be assumed that many others, whose biographical sketches are incomplete, had personal reasons to remember ruefully the policies of Nazism, which left a profound impact upon the S.P.D. "*Vergessen wir nie, was nach dem 30. Januar 1933 über uns hereingebrochen ist, und seien wir wachsam!*" a party handbill of 1952 cautioned.<sup>12</sup>

As the above statistics imply, the S.P.D. deputies of 1949 were, for the most part, veteran Socialists. At least 57 had entered the movement before turning thirty; though in many other cases dates of entry were not given, it seems clear that association with the Socialist cause at an early age was characteristic of the 1949 leaders. Only 9 deputies were men of middle age, who had first entered the party after it emerged from virtual extinction in 1945. While the deputies were mostly experienced Socialists, they were not burdened by senility. In this respect the 1949 S.P.D. *Fraktion* differed considerably from the S.P.D. leaders who created the Weimar Republic.<sup>13</sup> The elite

<sup>9</sup> Biographical sketches upon which this article is based are to be found in Fritz Säger (ed.), *Die Volksvertretung, Handbuch des deutschen Bundestages*, with an introduction by Theodor Heuss (Stuttgart, 1949), pp. 101-263. The sketches vary considerably in content, indicating that each deputy filled out a data sheet or otherwise contributed autobiographical information for the handbook. This makes inevitable some inexactitude, indicated whenever the phrases "at least" or "as many as" are used herein.

<sup>10</sup> *Sopade, Querschnitt durch Politik und Wirtschaft* (Bonn), No. 938 (October, 1953), pp. 27-28, provides a list of the S.P.D. deputies elected on September 6, 1953.

<sup>11</sup> David Rodnick, *Postwar Germans, an Anthropologist's Account* (New Haven, 1948), p. 146.

<sup>12</sup> "Let us never forget what befell us after January 30, 1933, and let us be on guard!" From a handbill in possession of the author, entitled "*Die Frauze des Neofaschismus.*"

<sup>13</sup> Cf. John L. Snell, "German Socialists in the Last Imperial Reichstag, 1912-1918,"



of 1949 was considerably younger than that of 1912-18. Of the earlier group, 70.9 per cent were forty-one to sixty years of age when elected to the last Imperial Reichstag; 79.4 per cent of the S.P.D. contingent in the Bundestag of 1949-53 were in this age bracket. There were few seats in either contingent for men under thirty-six (three in 1912 and four in 1949). On the other hand, there were fewer elder statesmen among the deputies who inherited Hitler's defeat than among those who fell heir to the defeat of 1918. Only 3 (2.3 per cent) of the deputies of 1949 were over sixty-five when elected, whereas 8 such persons (7.3 per cent) were among the deputies of 1912-18. The more youthful nature of the contemporary S.P.D. deputies may help explain the greater vigor with which the S.P.D. has acted since 1945.

Deliberately, or unavoidably after twelve years of Nazism, the S.P.D. chose younger men to lead it in 1949 than was the case during the 1912-33 era. The change may have been deliberately arranged by "older heads" in the party in an attempt to solve a problem that nagged the S.P.D. during the twenties, that of attracting German youth to the Socialist movement. If so, it may yield positive results in time, but the younger representation has not yet brought large numbers of young Germans into the S.P.D.; in 1952 no less than 95 per cent of the members of the party were persons who had joined the S.P.D. or its youth movement before 1933.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the party has been well rewarded for its traditional promotion of women to positions of leadership. Twelve women won seats in the S.P.D. Bundestag contingent of 1949 (9 per cent of the group), and at the end of 1949, female members of the party constituted 18.8 per cent of the general membership.<sup>15</sup>

Party bureaucracy was well represented in the ranks of the S.P.D. parliamentarians of 1949, though bureaucratic domination was less to be feared than in 1912-18. No less than 48.2 per cent of the S.P.D. deputies who created Germany's first republic (those of 1912-18) were S.P.D. functionaries (party or union executives or party editors by main occupation). Only 32.1 per cent of the members of the Bonn contingent which, protestingly, helped launch Germany's second republic in 1949 were functionaries by main profession. This change may only reflect the fact that the party was still young in its reorganization and, therefore, short in its supply of bureaucrats in 1949. If it establishes a trend, this decline in bureaucratic control of the

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*Bulletin of the International Institute for Social History* (Amsterdam), Vol. 5 (December, 1952), pp. 196-205.

<sup>14</sup> Mehnert and Schulte, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>15</sup> Vorstand, Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, *Jahrbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands 1948/1949* (Hanover, n.d. [1950]), p. 79. Twenty-one women won seats in the 1953 S.P.D. contingent of 151 deputies. *News from Germany* (Bonn), September-October, 1953, p. 5.

parliamentary group, plus the younger age of the deputies, might make for greater flexibility in policy matters than was possible in the Weimar era.

It should be noted, however, that trade-union functionaries continued to play an important part in the S.P.D. parliamentary group of 1949, as they did in the period 1912-33. Formally, the party and the unions were more definitely separated than ever before as a result of the unification of all non-Communist unions of western Germany into the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*,<sup>16</sup> but this separation was chiefly fictional, as events have shown. It is significant that 19 of the deputies of 1949 were listed as union officials by main occupation at the time of their election; the same number of the 1912 deputies were union executives at the time of their election as Socialist parliamentarians. Furthermore, while at least 45 of the 1912 deputies (41 per cent) had belonged to Socialist trade-unions before being elected, no fewer than 65 of the Bonn deputies (49.6 per cent) indicated union backgrounds in their biographical sketches. Although half of the S.P.D. deputies of the 1949 Bundestag had risen through the ranks of organized labor, none were still unskilled industrial laborers when they were elected to parliament. Eight were skilled craftsmen by main occupation. Twenty-five were salaried employees, that is to say, "white-collar" workers. Whereas 17 of the 1912 deputies were listed as merchants, only 5 were so described in the 1949 group (though one of these was described in seemingly un-Socialistic terms as a "*selbständiger Grosshandelskaufmann*"). In general it appears that the deputies elected in 1949, even more than those of the First World War, reflect the solid base of organized labor upon which the S.P.D. has depended for support in the political arena of twentieth-century Germany.<sup>17</sup>

A total of 33 of the 1949 deputies had received university training (as compared with only 24 members of the 1912 group), but professional intellectuals played a lesser part in 1949 than their counterparts did a generation ago. Besides the editors of party newspapers, only 5 deputies were listed as journalists or writers by profession (3.8 per cent), in marked contrast to the 19 (17.3 per cent) so described in the 1912-18 contingent. This represents a significant decline in influence of the most independent thinkers of the S.P.D., and helps explain the relative sterility of party theory in recent years.

Various other nonproletarian deputies represented the S.P.D. in the Bundestag of 1949. Six members of the contingent were lawyers or doctors; 8 were teachers or professors; and, although the S.P.D. has continued as of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Bundesvorstand, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, *Protokoll, Gründungskongress des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, München, 12.-14. Oktober 1949* (Cologne, 1950). Co-operation between the various unions began on a zonal basis soon after the end of the war. Cf. Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (Britische Besatzungszone), *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung in der britischen Besatzungszone, Geschäftsbericht . . . 1947-1949* (Cologne, n.d. [1949]).

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., John L. Snell, "Socialist Unions and Socialist Patriotism in Germany, 1914-1918," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 59 (October, 1953), pp. 66-76.



old to protest against clerical "misuse of the pulpit for political party ends,"<sup>18</sup> it is interesting to note that 2 of the 1949 deputies were pastors by profession. Further strengthening the claim of the S.P.D. to represent more than just the big-city proletariat, 63 of the 1949 deputies (47.3 per cent) were born in rural areas or in towns of fewer than fifty thousand inhabitants. Even more significant, 51 (39 per cent) still lived in such places in 1949.<sup>19</sup>

Besides representing various segments of German society, the S.P.D. deputies of 1949 represented every section of the fragmented German state. Twenty-one were born in southern Germany (Alsace, Baden, Bavaria, Pfalz, or Württemberg); 51 were born in the northwestern provinces (Hesse, Brunswick, Hanover, Hamburg, Oldenburg, Ostfriesland, Schleswig-Holstein, Westphalia, and the Rhineland). More significant than either of these figures, and perhaps the most revealing biographical statistic presented in this paper, 48 of the S.P.D. deputies of 1949 (36.7 per cent) were born in provinces which have been since 1945 under Soviet control. Thirteen were born in Brandenburg and 12 in Saxony. Sixteen were born in Thuringia, East Prussia, West Prussia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, and Anhalt. Five were born in Czechoslovakia and 2 in Poland. All these areas are now behind "the Iron Curtain"—or the *Stacheldraht* ("barbed-wire"), as the Germans more aptly put it. More Social Democratic deputies were born in these areas than can be claimed by any other party, which helps explain the fervent demands of the S.P.D. for reunification.<sup>20</sup>

It is abundantly clear that these men will never rest in their efforts to reunify Germany. Nationalism for them is no mere idea but a matter of intimate concern. What remains questionable is the matter of tactics and strategy, not of ultimate purpose: how is reunification to be sought? With the West? With the East? Or by a neutralist effort to "shake down" both West and East? The fact that many of the S.P.D. deputies fled from Soviet

<sup>18</sup> *News from Germany*, April, 1952, p. 1. A third pastor joined S.P.D. ranks in the Bundestag after a by-election of April 15, 1951 (*News from Germany*, November, 1951, p. 4).

<sup>19</sup> The date used to determine the size of cities of birth was in both cases 1925, at which time there were ninety-five such places in Germany, excluding those lost in 1919.—*Der Grosse Brockhaus, Handbuch des Wissens in zwanzig Bänden* (15th ed., Leipzig, 1929), Vol. 4, p. 627.

<sup>20</sup> In the 1953 S.P.D. contingent there were also 48 (of 151) deputies who were born in provinces now under Soviet control. Many of these had found their way to the western provinces before Soviet occupation of their homeland. Yet, 17 per cent of the S.P.D. deputies of 1949 and 20 per cent of the S.P.D. deputies elected in 1953 were actually refugees who moved west in 1945 or later. Only 10 per cent of the C.D.U./C.S.U. deputies of 1949 and only 8 per cent (19) of the C.D.U./C.S.U. deputies of 1953 were refugees. The S.P.D. contingent of 1953 actually included more refugee deputies (30) than did the Refugee Party (B.H.E.) itself (21). These figures are based upon information presented in *Sopade, Querschnitt durch Politik und Wirtschaft* (Bonn), No. 938 (October, 1953), p. 40, and upon my own analysis of the short biographical sketches of the S.P.D. deputies elected in 1953, *ibid.*, pp. 31–37.

power and that 33 have worked, traveled, or sought refuge from the Nazis in the West almost certainly has made more personal the traditional Western orientation of the S.P.D. For these reasons it is difficult to imagine that a Socialist-led government at Bonn would ally itself with the U.S.S.R., as some in the United States have feared. However, such a government might be expected to engage in flirtations with the East (as might any other German government, eventually) if it could hope through such flirtations to win concessions from both East and West without being subjugated by the East in the process. Indeed, expectation of using this old technique was probably the most important reason for the reluctance and ultimate refusal of the S.P.D. to approve German rearmament, though other factors were also involved. Approval of the defense treaty meant unambiguous alliance with the West, and thereby a great restriction upon German freedom of diplomatic maneuvering.<sup>21</sup> Certainly the S.P.D. leaders did not oppose rearmament on the basis of pacifistic principle. Carlo Schmid, third member (with Schumacher and Erich Ollenhauer) of the triumvirate that led the S.P.D. group in the Bundestag after 1949, put this idea to rest at the outset of the prolonged debate on rearmament when he said that the S.P.D. was not a "party of conscientious objectors: it believes that in case of attack Germany should be defended by force, if possible through her own agency, if there are no other means of protecting her."<sup>22</sup> He might have added that at least 27 of his colleagues in the Bundestag were veterans of the Second World War.

Finally, there is some basis for belief that the S.P.D. attitude toward rearmament was merely another manifestation of that chronic negativism which has characterized the policy of the party since the Second World War. Indeed, this negativism has become so characteristic of the S.P.D. that it may limit the party indefinitely to playing the role of a declining opposition group in German politics. In any case the general negativism of the party's policy has already overshadowed the great amount of positive work which has been done by individual members of the S.P.D. parliamentary group. According to the biographical sketches of the 1949 deputies, 56 had gained experience in municipal government before election to the Bundestag; 54 had served in provincial parliaments either before 1933 or after 1945; 11 had served in

<sup>21</sup> *News from Germany* (Bonn), August, 1952, p. 3. Cf. also *Sopade, Querschnitt durch Politik und Wirtschaft* (Bonn), No. 925 (September, 1952), p. 15. See also the statement by Carlo Schmid in *Deutsche Korrespondenz* (Bonn), No. 39 (October 1, 1955), pp. 5-6. This and other aspects of S.P.D. foreign policy are treated in Jess B. Hendricks, "The Foreign Policy of the German Social Democratic Party, 1949-1953" (unpublished master's thesis, Tulane University, 1956). See also Lewis J. Edinger, *West German Armament* (Maxwell Air Force Base, 1955), *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Carlo Schmid, "Germany and Europe," *International Affairs*, Vol. 27 (July, 1951), pp. 309-10, a published version of remarks made at Chatham House, March 6, 1951.

the national parliament before 1933; 17 had worked in the semiparliamentary Economic Councils of 1947-49; 11 had helped draft the "Basic Law" which serves Bonn Germany in lieu of a constitution; and 10 had held posts in postwar provincial cabinets.

Clearly these men will be prepared to assume the responsibilities of government if they should be called upon by the German voters to do so. Such a call might come as a result of the ability of the S.P.D. to rise above its postwar record to date and offer the German people a convincing, positive alternative to the course the C.D.U. has steered under Adenauer. It is disturbingly possible, on the other hand, that a call to rule might eventually come to the S.P.D. as it came to the Nazis in 1933, through the favorable response of the German people to the twin policy of negativism and nationalism which the S.P.D. has pursued since 1948. Advent to power under such conditions would be a major calamity for Germany in general and for the S.P.D. in particular, for Ollenhauer would find it as impossible to escape the tragic consequences of such a rise to power as Hitler found it after 1933.

Present S.P.D. policies have been made by history plus sociopolitical factors plus the S.P.D. deputies. How, then, can they be changed? History inexorably remains history; the sociopolitical factors of the period 1945-49 have not been measurably altered; the S.P.D. deputies who were chosen in 1953 are not very different from those elected in 1949 (and, in any case, 83 who were elected in 1949 won renewed mandates in 1953). Hope for a change in policy would seem to rest upon the determined efforts of the new deputies and the adaptability of those who remain from the 1949 Bundestag. It is certainly impossible for them to forget their past; it is difficult for them even to draw new implications from their collective biography in terms of present and future policy. Yet this personal element in the equation which has determined S.P.D. policy seems to be the only element that can be altered today or tomorrow. If these Social Democrats of today can rise above the pall of negativism with which Nazism left them enshrouded, and if they can curb the understandable but irrational nationalism which springs from the subjugation of native soil to a horror as great as Nazism bred after 1933, then they may one day apply the knowledge and experience which they have won for the good of their people and to the benefit of the Western alliance, with which their destinies surely lie.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The S.P.D. conference at Cologne on January 14-15, 1956, offered many indications that the party leaders have reached conclusions similar to those presented above. A number of prearranged "keynote" speeches, charting party campaign strategy for the next (1957) parliamentary elections, de-emphasized foreign policy, and therefore nationalism, and presented specific and positive demands for social legislation.—*Deutsche Korrespondenz* (Bonn), No. 3 (January 21, 1956), pp. 3-5.

# The Classical Tradition versus Economic Growth

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WHAT OBSTACLES does present-day American culture oppose to the continued growth of the industrial economy? In framing this question I do not mean to imply that general cultural conditions are not as favorable to economic growth in the United States as they are, or have ever been, in any country in the world. All that I propose is that we reverse the telescope with which we have recently been peering at other countries. Even if we assume that the United States is the most advanced industrial community the world has ever known, we must still recognize that in terms of future possibilities it is underindustrialized; and as an underindustrialized region it must be assumed to present cultural anomalies not altogether unlike those we see so clearly when we study the process of economic growth as it goes on in other underindustrialized regions. Hence it is surely a part of our task as students of that process to inquire: What are the anomalies by which our own growth is currently beset?

Our present lively interest in the process of industrialization derives from the interest of underindustrialized countries in sharing the benefits of the industrial economy. I should like to point out in passing that in both its aspects this interest constitutes an acceptance, however unknowing, of the basic tenet of institutionalism: namely, that the principal determinant of the well-being of any people is the state of the industrial arts.

Moreover, it is becoming increasingly evident that profit-seeking does not

NOTE.—This paper has been substantially modified since its presentation before the Economics Section of the Southwestern Social Science Association in Dallas on April 8, 1955. For such clarification as I have been able to achieve, thanks are due to Professor Clarence Danhof, of Tulane University. In his discussion of the original paper he expressed virtually total disagreement, and I presume that he would still do so. But since his counterargument took the form of a rehearsal of the exceptions to strict orthodoxy which economists have made from generation to generation, he convinced me that I had not succeeded in establishing the responsibility of our profession for the persistence of public faith in the magic of the market, notwithstanding all the individual deviations of all the members of our profession. But even in Professor Danhof's case, it seemed to me that underneath the asperity with which he pointed out how generally exceptions have been made to the literal doctrine of *laissez faire*, there smoldered a hotter indignation at my disparagement of the whole classical conception of market-guided economy.

of itself necessarily and automatically lead to general and, as we sometimes say, balanced industrial development by which the economic level of the whole community is raised. This may only mean that the problem of late-comers to industrial revolution is altogether different from that of the original pioneers, for one thing because the now highly industrialized pioneers are in a position to make profits at the expense of the laggards. But what moral shall we draw from this obvious difference? Could it be that the pioneers were able to afford the luxury of planless development only because during their adolescence there were no industrial empires by which they might have been annexed?

That is not the whole story, of course. As virtually all students of the problem have come to realize, the technological gap between the most highly industrialized communities and those considerably farther down the scale is now appallingly wide. Their situation is utterly different, for example, from those of Germany and Japan. In Veblen's pioneer study of the transplantation of machine technology, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, one of his shrewdest points was "on the merits of borrowing." Veblen also recognized that even in the middle of the nineteenth century both Germany and Japan were very special cases, ideally suited in many respects for taking over, almost *in toto*, the most advanced industrial apparatus of the leaders. Could even they have done so in the middle of the twentieth century? Perhaps so. The Soviet Union seems to be doing something of the sort. But the question still remains: Is it possible to introduce farming with tractors, gang plows, and combines among people who do not yet have iron hoes?

The problem of technological sequence is difficult enough, but it is far from being the most troublesome difficulty. In recent years students in all the various areas of social inquiry have become acutely aware of the importance of the sentiments and attitudes that prevail among all communities and of the functional relationship between such attitudes and sentiments and the most deeply ingrained beliefs of each community. That the traditional habits of life—the nature, tone, and tempo of all community activities—are conditioned by such community beliefs, attitudes, and sentiments is a commonplace of twentieth-century social science.

This means, of course, that before such peoples can hope to assimilate modern industrial technology they have got to divest themselves of practically the whole of their existing cultures; and it goes without saying that that would be rather a considerable undertaking. Thus, for example, African peoples, in whose cultures magical practices are blended with nearly all the activities of their life, are thereby virtually barred from operating any sort of machinery, since the prime prerequisite for handling machinery is recognition of the principle that every mechanical failure is due to mechanical causes and never to occult forces of any kind. Almost equally effective as a



bar to industrialization is the culture of those Asian peoples whose whole lives are colored by the attitude of resignation, uncomplaining acceptance of adversity, and compensatory suppression of all earthly aspiration. Contrast the ethos of the people of India, for example, with the spirit of industrial society as it is expressed by the motto of the "Seabees" of the United States Navy: "The difficult we do at once; the impossible takes a little longer!"

Before passing on, I venture again to call attention to the fashion in which this process makes institutionalists of all its students. What is manifest here is more than a vague empiricism. Recognition of the fashion and extent to which "imbecile institutions," as Veblen called them, present a serious obstacle to industrial development is tantamount to recognition of the other basic tenet of institutionalism: to wit, the contrariety of the technological process and the whole system of "use and wont," ceremony and decorum, attitude and sentiment, in which every society seeks to preserve and perpetuate its immemorial past. Happy is the people that has no history!

But is there such a people? Zoologically speaking, I suppose that we are all of equally ancient stock, being descended, as Lord Pooh-Bah was, "from a primordial, protoplasmal globule." If any people lacks a history, it must be in consequence of its having somehow been divested of its past, perhaps while rounding one of the sharp curves of which Lenin spoke.

Lenin himself was a master designer of curves. Indeed, it may be that the greatest advantage the Soviet Union now enjoys consists in the invitation it extends to all peoples to jettison their history. To the world's downtrodden—that is, to the hundreds of millions, or even perhaps billions, throughout the world to whom their present culture means not only chronic hunger but even more chronic humiliation—the prospect of a completely new start must inevitably, insofar as it is understood at all, make an incomparably stronger appeal than the offer of a bushel or two of rice plus some good advice on future cultivation.

Furthermore, peoples who have only just now been liberated from their past may quite possibly enjoy a considerable advantage over ourselves with reference to future industrialization. At this point I am reminded of Veblen's celebrated essay on the intellectual pre-eminence of the Jew. As he saw it, the extraordinary magnitude of the contribution of Jews to modern Western culture—far in excess of their numerical proportion to the total population—is due, first, to the great antiquity of Jewish tribal culture, in consequence of which the contrast between tribal beliefs and modern scientific knowledge is so great that the educated Jew tends to discard his tribal culture *in toto*. As a result the intellectually emancipated Jew is then less inhibited by cultural prepossessions than his Christian colleagues, who even in the Age of Reason still showed a disposition to confuse the *status quo* with the "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God." It is by no means impossible that culturally

liberated peoples might some day realize a similar advantage over the pioneers of industrialization.

Certainly it would be a great mistake for the Western peoples to fall into the habit of supposing that, because they were the first to undergo industrialization, they will therefore always be ahead of those who began later. "The merits of borrowing," which, as Veblen showed, made it possible for the Germans to equip their industrial plants with none but the latest machinery while British plants were still largely stocked with obsolete equipment, also extend to ideas. Children born today do not have to discover and correct the limitations of Newtonian physics for themselves. They begin, so to speak, where Einstein left off; the same is true of cultural communities. Moreover, insofar as the older generation is still possessed by obsolete ideas and habits of thought, or still inhibited by archaic beliefs and sentiments, the children will enjoy a positive advantage; and this too is true of peoples.

Throughout early modern times, as everybody knows, the Western peoples somehow came to experience unique advantages of cultural emancipation. But something like five centuries have passed since Western civilization took the lead, a period quite long enough for the accumulation of a considerable load of cultural impedimenta. We have been very fortunate in escaping the cultural obstacles by which many other peoples are still plagued. For example, dietary taboos, affecting not only what one eats but even the circumstances in which, and the company with whom, one eats it, have been and are almost nonexistent; and the same is true of holy days and periods. Even the tradition of the Sabbath has not been a fatal obstacle to the development of continuous-operation industries. Such advantages we still possess. But do other beliefs, attitudes, and sentiments exist—have any developed, perhaps, out of the circumstances of early modern times and in nostalgic perpetuation of those circumstances—which may now and in the future handicap our efforts to further the industrial process?

This is a question we do not frequently ask ourselves, partly because as a people we are not particularly prone to morbid self-examination, and partly because the pattern of the whole inquiry into the process of industrialization of hitherto underindustrialized regions is such as to focus our attention upon the shortcomings of others rather than of ourselves. But once the question is raised, it seems to me that the answer is inescapable. Inhibitory beliefs and sentiments do indeed exist among us and prevail widely and stubbornly; and they do indeed constitute a serious obstacle to continued economic growth.

Chief among these, I think, are (1) tolerance of plutocracy (belief that private fortune-building is in the public interest), and (2) fear of government (belief that the economy is best guided by "the market," which should therefore be "let alone").

These two beliefs, and the two sets of sentiments which accompany them,



are of course related. In fact, they are mutually complementary, practically the affirmative and negative aspects of the same culture complex; and as such they have their origin in the same set of circumstances. As modern civilization began to emerge from that of the Middle Ages in the earliest stages of the industrial revolution, the expansion of what we now call industry—and therefore of trade—created opportunities all along the line for alert and enterprising men to better themselves. This was, of course, a good thing, and so was the ethos of self-betterment. Modern Western civilization came by its tolerance of plutocracy honestly, so to speak, and the same is true of its distrust of government. Fear of government likewise had its origin in the long struggle of the new society to free itself from the chrysalis of the old order, of which the divinity that hedges kings was one of the most persistent atavisms. We must never forget that the governments from which François Quesnay and Adam Smith sought to free the economic activities of the eighteenth century were those of Louis XVI and George III.

But tolerance of plutocracy meant one thing in the sixteenth century, when the power of wealth first began to displace the power of hereditary rank; it means something quite different when the power of wealth is ranged against the public good. Fear of Bourbons and Hanoverians is one thing; but fear of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority is quite another. Quite evidently beliefs and attitudes which made sense in one age have persisted into another in which they have become pernicious nonsense. Why is this?

I do not see any possibility of answering this question except in terms of economic dogma. Professor J. K. Galbraith has suggested (*American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power*) that mankind "cannot live without an economic theology—without some rationalization of the abstract and seemingly inchoate arrangements which provide him with his livelihood." This may be true. But it is also true that the theology of which Professor Galbraith speaks was the work of economists, and that economists as a profession are primarily responsible for its persistence and the persistence of the popular beliefs which it sustains.

Briefly, what economists have done is to impute a sort of magic to "the market," that is, to the operations of buying and selling. They have done so in complete innocence, of course. As trades and crafts began to multiply rapidly toward the end of the Middle Ages, exchange inevitably grew in importance; and whereas the crafts themselves were commonly practiced in relative privacy, exchange was necessarily public and conspicuous. The growing power of wealth likewise served to focus attention upon exchange, for it is those who specialize in buying and selling who grow wealthy. When Adam Smith declared, at the very beginning of *The Wealth of Nations*, that the "division of labor . . . is . . . the consequence of . . . the propensity to

truck, barter, and exchange . . ." and that it "must always be limited . . . by the extent of the market," he was making an honest mistake, but a mistake nonetheless and an extremely portentous one.

The truth is, of course, exactly the reverse. It is the division of labor, including the techniques of transportation and communication, that defines the extent of the market. What gives exchange its importance in the modern industrial economy is the proliferation of occupations. We say that the market allocates scarce resources among alternative uses, but the allocation is only an epiphenomenon. What really determines the relative scarcity or profusion of resources is the level of technical skill and scientific knowledge, and what defines the alternative uses to which the resources of any community may be put is the institutional structure of that community. The "market" can never be anything more than the vehicle through which prevailing conditions take effect.

Economists have always been aware of this in varying degree. Nearly all of them have been reformers of one stripe or another, and their proposals have characteristically taken the form of the exercise of the power of government to effect some modification of the institutional structure. But notwithstanding all the tinkering, the magic of the market has continued to maintain its hold over the minds of economists, and therefore over the sentiments of the community. It has done so by virtue of two curiously unrelated sets of circumstances.

One of these is the fact of economic growth. For all its imperfections, the industrial economy has continued to grow at an unprecedented and constantly accelerating rate; and since this has very obviously not been due to any general strategy of economic growth, the fact of prodigious and continuing growth has served to confirm scholars as well as laymen in their belief in the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

The other set of circumstances is intellectual. Letting things alone—letting nature take its course, to to speak—has never been understood to mean letting science and technology work their way with Western civilization. Still less has it been understood to mean letting the patterns of Western culture alone, for the simple reason that until the present century almost no one thought in terms of patterns of culture or even of the autochthonous process of scientific and technological development. Seemingly, therefore, the only common element by which economic activities, however diverse otherwise, were all pervaded was their commercial aspect, their manifold and complex relations to the market. Because these relations are manifold and complex, they have exercised a fateful fascination over the minds of several generations of scholars—a fascination which has steadily increased as the theory of price relationships has become increasingly subtle and complicated. For academicians this intellectual exercise has become an end in itself, a sort of field of

honor on which true and valiant knights may exhibit their prowess. But for the general public it represents a realm of higher understanding in which qualified experts are able to penetrate the mysteries of "the laws of supply and demand."

What is thereby established in the minds of the community is the ancient belief in the magic of the market, with all its traditional ramifications. Thus even today it is widely and stubbornly believed that great accumulations of private wealth are a good thing, and that widespread poverty—unfortunate as it is for those who suffer it—must nevertheless be tolerated. For private wealth can be accumulated only at the expense of the "involuntary saving" of the poor and the accumulations of the rich mean the creation of capital, therefore constituting the enabling condition which "makes possible" the industrial growth by which in turn the entire community benefits, even though in varying degrees. So also governmental "interference" in economic affairs still encounters general distrust and misgiving, notwithstanding the great contrast between twentieth-century democracy and eighteenth-century monarchy, and notwithstanding all the tinkering which economists themselves have advocated. The exercise of governmental authority necessarily takes the form of "interference," as it is called, with unrestricted private fortune-building and hence with what is still believed to be the creative process of economic growth. The general public, whose opinions are, and should be, decisive, do not fully understand just how the market brings all this to pass; but they are fully convinced that economists do know.

They are wrong, of course. Economists do not know any such thing. There is more misgiving among professional economists today with regard to the meaning and the efficacy of the so-called laws of supply and demand than ever before. Moreover, the fact is now widely recognized by professional students of the economy that private fortune-building, far from being the *sine qua non* of economic growth, constitutes the most serious threat to continued industrial development, and that our only recourse in seeking to avoid that threat is governmental action. The private accumulation of wealth is a danger to the economy precisely because it constitutes saving, and because aggregate saving is necessarily accomplished at the expense of aggregate consumption, and because aggregate consumption is the limiting factor in the process of industrial growth. Thus the more unrestrainedly we give over the economy to private fortune-building, the more certain it is that the whole process of industrial growth will be arrested by the failure of aggregate consumption to keep pace with that growth. The only agency through which restraint can be effectively exercised is government.

This situation seems to me to have two morals. One is the fatefulness of the economic beliefs of the Western peoples, especially the people of the United States, and the other is the responsibility of our profession for the

formulation and perpetuation of those beliefs. Just as the superstitions of African tribesmen impede their participation in the industrial revolution, so also the economic theology with which Americans have been so deeply indoctrinated constitutes a major impediment to our own further development. It is just as true of us as it is of them that we shall continue to develop industrially only if the whole community can be weaned from its superstitions.

Economists have two compelling reasons for being concerned about this situation. First, as I noted at the beginning of this paper, it is their business to try to understand the forces that condition the process of industrial development everywhere, and in their own economy no less, certainly, than in those of other peoples. But also, as a profession they have a special reason for being concerned about the economic beliefs of their own community, since they are largely responsible for them.

That responsibility persists, notwithstanding the self-emancipation of individual economists from the dogmas of the past. I am continually being reminded by my colleagues that no first-rate economist any longer glorifies private fortune-building without qualification, or perhaps ever has, and that none absolutely opposes any and all exercise of governmental supervision of economic matters, or ever has. But this is only partly true. Qualifications that some economists are careful to stipulate are denied by others, who, however, make other qualifications of their own. In short, we live, intellectually, in an age of mutually nullifying qualifications. But meantime we do, as a profession, continue to give the community at large the impression that the extremes of wealth and (at least relative) poverty which are evident on every hand constitute an economically necessary and therefore essentially wholesome condition, and that any exercise of governmental supervision, though purportedly in behalf of the general welfare, is almost certainly misguided and disastrous. We do so by the respect in which we continue to hold the classical tradition. The world at large is beyond the reach of our subtle qualifications, but it is not beyond the influence of our continued veneration of the ancient dogma.

Thus, it seems to me, we are confronted by three alternatives. One is the possibility that the community may repudiate its superstitions in spite of us, leaving us as the sole custodians of an abandoned faith. Another is the possibility that the economic theology of the founding fathers will not be repudiated and that economic disaster will therefore overwhelm us. The third is the possibility which, I think, is still open to us, that we shall take the lead in freeing the minds of our contemporaries from obsolete beliefs, just as we are seeking to free the minds of peoples in other lands from their obstructive superstitions, and in so doing shall make it possible for America and Western civilization to continue to lead in the industrialization of the world.

# Unions, Purchasing Power, and Employment

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HISTORICALLY SPEAKING, economists have long been a source of acute dissatisfaction to labor leaders by virtue of their uncanny capacity to evolve and support wage doctrines which emphasize the futility of union organization. Thus, for example, the (in) famous "iron law of wages" of the classical economists doomed the labor force to a bare subsistence level of wages as a result of inevitable population changes prompted by any variation from that norm. The vague and ambiguous wages-fund doctrine bore equally shadowy implications for the potential accomplishments of unionization. Similarly, the so-called "flexible-wage" doctrine<sup>1</sup> of the twenties and thirties endorsed the downward flexibility of wages as a valuable antidepression device and union restraint in wage bargaining during prosperity. By this doctrine, non-conforming unions were disruptive forces in the economy while followers of the creed were virtually emasculated.

History also reveals that the less abstruse thinking of trade-unionists has ultimately proved to be of greater accuracy than the early wage doctrine of the economic intelligentsia. Of particular note—and anticipatory of modern economic thought—has been the persistent advocacy of higher wage rates by early American trade-unions as a part of their basic rationale. This rationalization clearly encompassed underconsumption as its cornerstone.<sup>2</sup> The evolution of Keynesian economics has permitted economic thought to partially close the gap between the underconsumptionist wage policies of unions and economic analysis, thereby allowing unionism to bolster their wage philosophies with embarrassingly belated appeals to intellectual authority. Irrespective of priority of discovery and development, labor leaders now have at their disposal a wage doctrine which—at least as they conceive of it—advocates higher wages in virtually all economic contexts while boasting

<sup>1</sup> See H. W. Singer, "Wage Policy and Full Employment," *Economic Journal*, Vol. 57 (December, 1947), p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Frederic Meyers, "Underconsumption: A Rationalization for Trade Unionists," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 30 (March, 1950), pp. 237-45.



the virtue of consistency with modern economic thought.<sup>3</sup> Like its predecessors—the subsistence theory, the wages-fund doctrine, and the flexible-wage doctrine—the purchasing-power theory is a nebulous concept, elusive of definition and lacking in explicitness. In spite of—or possibly because of—these shortcomings, the doctrine has achieved a stature seldom achieved by any economic concept.<sup>4</sup>

As currently purported by labor leaders, the purchasing-power theory of wages states that the bulk of purchasing power in the economy comes from the wages-receiving segment of the economy, i.e., from labor. This is so for two reasons: labor receives the greatest portion of national income; the laboring classes tend to have higher average and marginal propensities to consume than do other income recipients. Consequently, any reduction in wages-income out of a given national income causes serious declines in aggregate spending and employment. Alternatively stated, if labor's share of increments to national income declines, the same ominous results will be forthcoming. Thus wage increases are always desirable and decreases undesirable, not only from the viewpoint of labor but also for the economy as a whole. Wage increases constitute a significant antirecession measure, on the one hand, and a prerequisite for continued economic growth, on the other.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Modern Keynesian economics does not embrace the purchasing-power theory of wages as it is often perceived by the various labor leaders. Keynes questioned the usefulness and feasibility of wage reductions as antidepression measures, arguing that institutional factors, e.g., unions and minimum-wage legislation, make wages inflexible in a downward direction and that lower wages tend to reduce aggregate spending. Some shortsighted labor leaders have tended to push these observations to the opposite extreme, reasoning that, if wage reductions are undesirable as antidepression devices, it follows that wage increases would be economically beneficial in a recession environment. Many others are desirous of simply resisting wage cuts. Still others are "willing" to accept wage cuts in the interest of maintaining employment in a marginal firm. The position taken by a given labor leader will depend upon a multiplicity of factors: (1) the competitive situation and position of the firm(s) with which the union is dealing; (2) the *ex ante* relationship between wage rates and employment; (3) the prevalence of unemployment in the particular locality and the economy as a whole, etc. In general, Keynesian economists are considerably skeptical as to whether wage rates are at all a relevant and/or significant variable for the level of employment. At best, Keynesian economics is permissive of the purchasing-power doctrine as it has been expounded by labor leaders, the Keynesian "propensity-to-consume" concept being an obvious boon to proponents of the doctrine.—See J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), Chap. 19; Gordon F. Bloom and Herbert R. Northrup, *Economics of Labor Relations* (Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1954), pp. 377, 408; Gottfried Von Haberler, *Prosperity and Depression* (Geneva, League of Nations, 1939), Chap. 5.

<sup>4</sup> It should be emphasized that the purchasing-power doctrine is not actually a "theory" of wages in that it does not explain or predict the average level of wages or what wages will actually be in particular labor markets. In effect, the doctrine constitutes a macroeconomic addendum to union wage-policy superimposed upon other microeconomic wage theories. It describes what unions believe to be an economically desirable policy; it is not an objective explanation of the cause-effect relationships between relevant labor-market variables.

<sup>5</sup> See *Report to the President of the United States on the Labor Dispute in the Basic Steel*

Most labor leaders tend to accept uncritically the purchasing-power doctrine as a general proposition and guide to action.<sup>6</sup> To them the doctrine is not only economically beneficial but also socially desirable on equity grounds. More importantly, the general public and many governmental officials have also paid homage to the general validity of the doctrine.<sup>7</sup> Nationally recognized business leaders have been known to pay at least lip service to the alleged virtues of the purchasing-power philosophy.<sup>8</sup> In general, all have worshipped at the shrine.<sup>9</sup>

### *Assumptions Underlying the Doctrine*

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the purchasing-power doctrine has been the reluctance of its proponents to define clearly and explore the assumptions underlying the doctrine. It is to this task I now turn. Two fundamental assumptions are implicit in the doctrine:

1. Labor ("low-income groups") have a larger marginal and average propensity to consume than do entrepreneurial-rentier ("upper-income") groups.<sup>10</sup>

*Industry* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 30-31; Robert R. Nathan and Oscar Gass, *A National Wage Policy for 1947* (Washington, D.C., December, 1946); UAW-CIO, *Wages, Prices, Profits* (March, 1947), particularly pp. 49-51; Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., *A National Economic Policy for 1949* (Washington, D.C., July, 1949), particularly p. 38 and Chap. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See the testimony of William Green and John L. Lewis in *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, 79th Cong., 1st sess., S. 380 on the Full Employment Act of 1945*, particularly, pp. 511, 509, and 518; *Report*, pp. 30-31, cited in footnote 5; William Green, "Raise Wages," *American Federationist*, Vol. 40 (June, 1933), pp. 572-73; and Meyers, *op. cit.* This is not to argue, however, that all union leaders view wage increases as desirable under any and all conditions. Union leaders—particularly at the national level—have shown much greater intelligence and farsightedness in the formulation of wage policy.

<sup>7</sup> The National Industrial Recovery Act and the National Labor Relations Act are fairly obvious illustrations of Congressional encouragement to labor organizations designed to ultimately stimulate mass purchasing power via increased wages for labor. Section 7 of the NIRA (46 Stat., 1933), p. 195 constitutes a mild sanctioning of the purchasing-power philosophy, while the NLRA (49 Stat., 1935), p. 499 is more explicit on the point.

<sup>8</sup> See the testimony of Paul G. Hoffman in *Hearings* cited in footnote 6, pp. 717, 710.

<sup>9</sup> See Herbert D. Simpson, *Purchasing Power and Prosperity* (Chicago, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1936), pp. 1-5; and James A. Estey, *Business Cycles* (2d ed., New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 249-50.

<sup>10</sup> It is not essential for present purposes to postulate that unions actually have the desire and/or ability to change the functional distribution of income in favor of labor. All that need be assumed is that unions are "agencies" through which labor claims a relatively stable portion of national income over a period of time. Were this not the case (i.e., if labor's share declined), then market gluts could be expected on the basis of assumption 1. As a matter of fact, union pronouncements on wage policy are often couched in terms of "keeping pace" or "catching up" with shares of national income going to other groups in the economy.—See footnote 6; CIO Department of Education and Research, *Wage Policy in Our Expanding Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1952), pp. 23, 25, 37, 45; CIO Committee on Economic



2. A redistribution of money income in favor of labor and at the expense of entrepreneurial-*rentier* groups enhances effective demand and employment in the economy. The discussion following is designed to evaluate critically these assumptions and to explore some of their ramifications which are frequently overlooked.

### *Labor's Propensity to Consume*

On the basis of a priori reasoning, economists have long embraced the belief that the propensity to consume is larger for low-income groups than it is for high-income groups. Indeed, common sense tells us that low-income groups are literally forced to spend the bulk (or all) of their incomes to obtain the necessities and more pedestrian luxuries of life; only the rich can partake significantly of the luxury of savings.<sup>11</sup>

In critically evaluating this line of reasoning as it has been applied by labor leaders in justifying high-wage policies, the following arguments will be made: (1) the identification of labor (particularly organized labor) and low-income groups is a loose one and, hence, detracts somewhat from the alleged effectiveness and rationality of current union-policies based on the purchasing-power doctrine; (2) psychosociological factors might mitigate any anticipated increase in consumption stemming from a variation in the propensity to consume as between high- and low-income groups; (3) the actual size of any increase in consumption resulting from a more equal distribution of income might be much less than many economists and labor leaders expect on the basis of a priori reasoning.

(1) Labor leaders, statesmen, and the general public are all prone to identify "low-income groups" with labor. This identity is subject to some criticism, particularly if the term "low-income groups" is associated with *organized* labor exclusively. In general, many workers in the lowest-income groups—those whose propensity to consume is allegedly the highest—are unorganized. Agricultural workers, workers in the service industries, and white-collar workers are notable examples of such labor. Available empirical research substantiates this point, indicating that the wages of unionized labor tend to be higher than those of nonunion labor.<sup>12</sup> If such a conclusion is

Policy, *Maintaining Prosperity* (Washington, D.C., 1952), Chap. 3; Nathan Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> See "1950 Survey of Consumer Finances, Part IV. The Distribution of Consumer Savings in 1949," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, Vol. 36 (November, 1950), pp. 1441-55; and Maurice Levin, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume* (Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution, 1934), Chaps. 8, 9.

<sup>12</sup> See Arthur M. Ross, *Trade Union Wage Policy* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948), Chap. 6. Referring to 1933-45 statistical data, Ross concludes that "... real hourly earnings in highly organized industries are not only higher, but have also risen more

accurate, it implies a partial inconsistency in organized labor's application of the purchasing-power doctrine: it should be a concomitant of the demands of union leaders, when expounding the assumed antidepression effects of wage increases, to advocate higher wages for *unorganized* labor before demanding such wage boosts for organized labor.<sup>13</sup> Only in this way would an application of the purchasing-power doctrine be most effective. In other words, if they are genuinely interested in combating a potential depression, labor leaders should be devoting more of their energies toward organizational campaigns and the support of minimum-wage legislation rather than the intensification of wage-demands for already organized labor.<sup>14</sup>

(2) More fundamentally, it is not at all clear that a redistribution of income toward greater equality would actually increase the total level of consumption in the economy to any significant degree. Outstanding economists have cast doubt upon this assumption at both the theoretical and empirical levels of analysis. James S. Duesenberry, as a concomitant implication of his theory that savings (and thus consumption) depend upon the relationship of current income to past income, has advanced the possibility that, even if unions were able to effect a more equal distribution of income, consumption might actually *fall* as a result. In effect, Duesenberry points out that people in low- and/or middle-income groups are psychosociologically motivated to increase their levels of consumption in an attempt to approximate the consumption levels of higher-income groups: "Once a group of high income people are recognized as a group of superior status, their consumption standard itself becomes one of the criteria for judging success . . . high standards of consumption become established as criteria for

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sharply, than in less organized industries."—*Ibid.*, p. 114. It should be noted that Ross's conclusions are not universally accepted. See Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (2d ed., New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), footnote, p. 612. Also relevant is John T. Dunlop's reminder that "while it is popular . . . to regard wage-earners as consuming all their income, savings are also important in many of the highest paid [i.e., organized if Ross's conclusions are valid] occupations."—See Dunlop, "Cyclical Variations in Wage Structure," *Review of Economic Statistics*, Vol. 21 (February, 1939), p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> This argument is intensified by the fact that only about 25 per cent of the total labor force is organized. On the other hand, union leadership might well argue that higher wages in organized industries will prompt similar increases in unorganized segments of the economy, thus achieving the desired effect. However, there may be a considerable time lag in the diffusion of such wage gains from organized to unorganized labor. Recessions must be nipped in the bud if full-scale depressions are to be avoided. Hence, this "diffusion" argument hardly resolves the stated inconsistency. Union promotion of minimum-wage legislation has (probably for nonaltruistic reasons) been in accord with labor's conception of the purchasing-power doctrine.

<sup>14</sup> In a more limited sense, union wage-policy is perfectly rational, for unions and their leaders necessarily must be concerned primarily with the economic welfare of their immediate constituents. Furthermore, it might be argued that current union wage-policies are economically beneficial, despite the fact that higher wage rates for currently unorganized labor might be more desirable.

high (social) status. Once this has occurred, it becomes difficult for anyone to attain a high status position unless he can attain a high consumption standard. . . ."<sup>15</sup> By putting a ceiling (in a very general sense of the term) on entrepreneurial-rentier incomes by way of high-wage policy, that is, by numerically diminishing, in effect, the high-consumption classes to which lower-income groups aspire, middle- and lower-income groups will feel *as if* their relative incomes have increased. They can be expected to behave accordingly, in other words, to save a larger percentage of their incomes. A higher level of savings means a *lower* level of consumption and, other things being equal, a lower level of employment,<sup>16</sup> rather than the opposite result, as predicted by the purchasing-power theory. In short, by achieving greater income-equality or by preventing a widening of the gap between high- and low-income groups, psychosociological factors might contribute to a diminishing propensity to consume on the part of labor and, hence, to less-than-anticipated increases in consumption expenditures.<sup>17</sup>

(3) Doubt has also been cast upon the first assumption at the empirical level of analysis. An interesting study by Harold Lubell has recently provided the tentative conclusion that "no [income] redistribution of any feasible severity will bring about a large enough change in aggregate expenditures to offer a major contribution to the problem of increasing total demand." As a result, we are warned that "too much emphasis should not be placed upon income redistribution for the solution of the savings-investment [employment] problem." Lubell estimates that a completely equal income-distribution—something few labor leaders either subscribe to or feel is attainable—would result in only about a 4 to 7 per cent increase in the total level of consumption. A more realistic 10 per cent redistribution would bring about an estimated 0.5 to 2.9 per cent increase in consumption.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> James S. Duesenberry, *Income, Saving, and the Theory of Consumer Behavior* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 28–32.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>17</sup> For present purposes Duesenberry's position is probably less precise when considered in a long-run, dynamic context. If an income redistribution should raise the level of real income in the economy as a whole, then union wage-policies could conceivably reduce income inequality and simultaneously leave the upper-income groups as well off in terms of the absolute size of their real incomes as before the redistribution. However, even in this case it might be argued that the potential intensification of the psychosociological prod to high levels of consumption by low-income groups, which would have resulted if income inequality had been increased (or at least left unchanged), has been lost. Hence, *ex post* consumption might have been higher if greater income-equality had not occurred.

<sup>18</sup> Harold Lubell, "Effects of Income Redistribution on Consumption Expenditures," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 37 (March, 1947), pp. 157–70, especially, pp. 163, 157. One of the major reasons cited by Lubell for such a small increase in consumption lies in the fact that many families in the lowest-income groups (particularly those below \$1,300 per year) dissave. Thus it is thought that an increase in their income as a result of redistribution results in a reduction in dissavings rather than an increase in consumption expenditures.

This is considerably less than most advocates of the purchasing-power doctrine would lead us to expect.

There is, however, another side to the picture which is more favorable to labor's position. The fact that a small increase in consumption, under certain conditions, might induce a multiple increase in investment via the accelerator principle cannot be ignored. Similarly, because consumption constitutes a considerably larger segment of aggregate demand than does investment, a small percentage increase in consumption alters the absolute level of investment required to maintain full employment by a multiple of the absolute change in consumption. The important point, however, is that the quantitative significance of these adjustments might be considerably less than is commonly anticipated.<sup>19</sup>

### *Labor and Effective Demand*

The second basic assumption upon which the purchasing-power doctrine is founded states that high-wage policies and/or a redistribution of money income in favor of labor enhances aggregate demand and, therefore, output and employment. Let us momentarily accept the validity of the first assumption in order to facilitate the isolation and critical evaluation of the second. This second assumption states, in effect, that in order for it to be concluded that a high-wage policy will increase output and employment, there must be no significant offsetting (no output-decreasing) effects accompanying the stipulated high-wage policy and/or redistribution of money income. This raises a series of subordinate postulates which demand careful consideration:

- a) Higher money-wage rates result in higher money-incomes.
- b) Wage increases are *not* accompanied by general price increases which ultimately leave the real income of labor reduced, unchanged, or only very slightly enhanced.
- c) Wage increases do not ordinarily entail detrimental effects upon the level of investment expenditures.
- d) All or a very significant percentage of any increase in money incomes received by labor will be spent with little or no delay.

a) The potential effects which higher wage-rates might have upon money incomes is one of the most polemical segments of labor economics. In a static microeconomic context, higher wage-incomes result only when the demand curve for labor of a particular firm or industry is inelastic.<sup>20</sup> Dynamic

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Lorie Tarshis, *Elements of Economics* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 416.

<sup>20</sup> For exceptional cases see R. F. Mikesell, "The Possibility of a Positively Sloped Demand Curve for Labor," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 30 (December, 1940), pp. 829-32.

factors, such as a rising product demand and significant technological improvements, make higher wages without more-than-offsetting reductions in employment possible, though not mandatory. However, both of these factors suggest that economic recovery is already in progress. This implies that pursual of the purchasing-power doctrine may be a reinforcing—as opposed to causal—factor in recovery. On the other hand, a general equilibrium context does not permit us to ignore the relationship between wage increases and product demand. In such a context the timing and magnitude of the shifts in product demand (discussed later in this article) would be of utmost significance to the particular firm or industry. The effect of wage increases upon employment would hinge upon the magnitude and rapidity of realization of the shift in the demand curve as compared to the size of the wage increase. In any event, the apparent stability of the share of national income going to labor suggests that such variables as savings, investment, and consumption determine the wage-price (profit) relationship and not vice versa, as the purchasing-power doctrine suggests. By and large, the validity of this assumption is partially dependent upon the macroeconomic variables inherent in assumption 1 and the three succeeding and derivative assumptions.

b) The question as to whether or not unions are inflationary forces in a capitalistic economy is a moot one. Great minds are aligned on both sides of this significant question.<sup>21</sup> It is thought by some writers that wage increases, by increasing production costs, will almost inevitably result in inflation. Many economists recognize this as a fairly general case even before the level of full employment is approximated, e.g., it is believed by some that significant inflation will occur when employment rises above 90 per cent of the labor force. With a civilian labor force of about sixty-five million, this would mean that inflation would occur when there were still over six million unemployed. Statistics for the Great Depression show that "the 20 per cent rise in employment between 1933 and 1937 was accompanied by a 15 per cent rise in the cost of living even though there were still as many as nine

<sup>21</sup> Compare Henry C. Simons, *Economic Policy for a Free Society* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948), Chap. 6; and Charles E. Lindblom, *Unions and Capitalism* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949), Chap. 11; with Walter A. Morton, "Trade Unionism Full Employment and Inflation," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 40 (March, 1950), pp. 13-39; and John K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), especially Chap. 9. It is not necessary for present purposes to postulate that unions are a cause of inflationary pressures but only that union wage-policies accelerate or contribute to the process of inflation once it is started. Unions, of course, feel that wage increases are not inherently inflationary, arguing that productivity increases and excessively high profits cushion or negate any inflationary implications.—See Nathan Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Nathan and Gass, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; and UAW-CIO, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.



million unemployed at the end of that period."<sup>22</sup> If at all accurate, the implication of such an eventuality for the purchasing-power doctrine is obvious. A significant portion of any increase in money incomes obtained by unions may be reflected in higher prices rather than in inducing a greater real output, as would be the case if prices were stable.

In applying the purchasing-power doctrine, union leaders commonly demand higher money-wages even after full employment has been achieved. Assumedly this is done to prolong and/or intensify the prevailing prosperity situation, to provide additional purchasing power to take productivity increases off markets, and to preserve the real incomes of unionized labor. However, if the attainment of high wage-rates accelerates the so-called "wage-price inflationary spiral" to a marked degree, the boom situation might be brought more quickly to an end than would otherwise be the case, that is, a persistent pursuit of the purchasing-power philosophy might lead to unanticipated and undesirable results.<sup>23</sup>

c) Those who contend that higher wages constitute an effective means of alleviating a deficiency of effective demand often fail to take cognizance of the obvious fact that the total level of employment depends upon the propensity to spend of the economy as a whole. Increases in consumption inspired by wage increases may be negated by concomitant reductions in investment.

Wage rates inherently embrace dual aspects—an income or expenditure effect which is a stimulant to employment and a cost effect which is conducive to unemployment. Up to a certain point, or within a certain range, or at certain phases of the business cycle, wage increases can be expected to have predominantly an income (positive) effect and a relatively secondary (negative) cost effect, thereby stimulating employment. This may be reinforced in the long run by investment expenditures involving the substitution of capital for labor. Within another range, however, the cost effect may be dominant over the income effect and, hence, wage increases will retard investment and employment.<sup>24</sup> Although it is difficult to generalize with respect to the implications of high-wage policies by unions for business incentives and the level of investment expenditures, there is a priori reason to believe that, beyond some undetermined point, further wage increases will

<sup>22</sup> Krister Wickman, "The Trade Unions, Inflation and Full Employment," in *Wages Policy Under Full Employment*, ed. Ralph Turvey (London, William Hodge and Co., Ltd., 1952), pp. 81–82. See also Melvin W. Reder, "The Theoretical Implications of a National Wage-Price Policy," *Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science*, Vol. 14 (February, 1948), pp. 46–61.

<sup>23</sup> This presupposes rapid and significant increases in the general price level.

<sup>24</sup> See Benjamin H. Higgins, "The Optimum Wage Rate," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 31 (May, 1949), pp. 131–32.

deter investment to the extent that any potentially beneficial income and employment effects are more than offset.<sup>25</sup>

More specifically, let us attempt to gauge the effect that a widespread wage increase might have upon business investment by exploring the possible implications of such an increase for the two major determinants of investment: the rate of interest and the expected rate of profit upon investments. A widespread or universal wage-increase implies that businesses in general will be required to keep larger supplies of working capital. This presupposes an increase in the demand for loanable funds from banking institutions. Eventually this can be expected to result in a rise in the interest rate. As credit is expanded, banks become more selective in making loans and some investment expenditures will thus be curtailed because of the unavailability of funds. Similarly, a higher interest-rate will make certain investments unprofitable.<sup>26</sup>

What effect(s) do wage increases have upon profit expectations? Some economists dogmatically contend that union wage-policies are necessarily detrimental to the level of business expenditures: "The willingness to take chances, to venture one's property, especially in new and novel enterprises . . . is the very basis of our whole economic and political system. It is now gravely jeopardized by developments [the high-wage policies of strong unions] which tend ominously to diminish the chances of gain relative to the chances of loss."<sup>27</sup>

However, the relationship between the wage policies of unions and the level of business investment is by no means as clear-cut as such writers would lead us to believe. Several different aspects are possible. On the one hand, if wage increases are viewed by the business community as an indication of a general economic upswing, then such expectations will obviously have a stimulating impact upon investment. Of course, proponents of the purchasing-power doctrine would have us believe that, as upward wage movements increased the level of consumption, business expectations would be im-

<sup>25</sup> Unions imply that increases in consumption stemming from wage increases induce the expansion of investment outlays while management embraces investment as an income-generating expenditure which can be expected to stimulate multiple increases in consumption.—See Nathan Associates, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Note also that the effect of wage increases upon investment is obviously a function of their universality.

<sup>26</sup> Government fiscal and/or monetary policy constitute autonomous variables which could be manipulated so as to modify the above line of reasoning. Furthermore, while investment in construction, for example, might be interest elastic, investment in producer's equipment and business inventories is thought to be interest inelastic.—See Alvin H. Hansen, *Business Cycles and National Income* (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1951), pp. 133–38.

<sup>27</sup> Simons, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–46.



proved, thus inducing a marked increase in investment.<sup>28</sup> However, Bloom and Northrup have argued that, even if it is granted that wage increases do actually increase consumption, such an eventuality may simply improve the short-term outlook for business without affecting the views of the business community concerning the profitability of long-run investment in heavy plant and equipment. "Because wage increases tend to affect short-term rather than long-term expectations, any favorable reaction upon business expenditures is likely to be reflected in increased inventory accumulation rather than in the purchase of fixed plant and equipment. Consequently, a recovery movement which is generated by increased wages is likely to be extremely susceptible to speculative influence."<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, if wage increases contribute to general unemployment and, in the extreme case, force the bankruptcy of marginal firms, business expenditures will further deteriorate. No simple generalization presents itself when dealing with an unquantifiable variable such as expectations.<sup>30</sup>

Lastly, it should be mentioned in passing that the purchasing-power doctrine and the wage policies deduced therefrom may be slighting the fact that savings is one of several basic sources of funds for business investment. A wage policy which increases consumption out of a given national income automatically reduces the amount of personal and business savings in the economy. A scarcity of savings for capital expansion may possibly bear shadowy implications for long-term economic growth.<sup>31</sup>

d) Is it reasonable to expect that all or a very considerable portion of any increase in wage-incomes will be spent with little or no delay? Certain situations can be envisioned wherein this might not be the case. First, during a recession, wage increases might not be reflected in immediate or significant increases in consumption, if consumers anticipate further price declines. Second, the propensity to hoard money income for precautionary reasons may

<sup>28</sup> Or, in a more negative vein, because of excess capacity and poor expectations, investment is depressed to such an extent during the downswing of the cycle that wage increases will have only negligible detrimental effects.

<sup>29</sup> Bloom and Northrup, *op. cit.*, p. 408. See also Sumner Slichter, *The Challenge of Industrial Relations* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 82-83.

<sup>30</sup> The actual effect of wage increases upon investment undoubtedly depends upon the phase of the business cycle postulated. For example, general wage increases early in the business upturn (when the propensity to consume of the economy as a whole is relatively high and profit expectations are favorable) could very well have a marked expansionary influence. On the other hand, at the start of a recession (when profit expectations are deteriorating and the propensity to consume of the economy as a whole is relatively low) a similar wage increase might entail disastrous reductions in the level of economic activity, thus precipitating a full-scale depression.—See William Fellner, *Competition Among the Few* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 271.

<sup>31</sup> This conclusion obviously depends upon both the availability of credit and the attitude of the business community toward borrowing as opposed to internal financing.

be enhanced during a cyclical downswing. Finally, the possibility that during depression increases in wage incomes will be used in part to retire indebtedness to banks cannot be ignored. In short, a part or all of any anticipated increase in consumption might be indefinitely forestalled and, therefore, any antidepression effect mitigated or negated.

Turning to the prosperity phase of the cycle, a similar (though less convincing) argument may be cited. It must be borne in mind that proponents of the purchasing-power doctrine contend that wage increases during prosperity are essential to the maintenance and intensification of that prosperity. If a considerable degree of inflation has accompanied prosperity, laborers, expecting that inflation has about run its course and that price declines will occur in the near future, might adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude when it comes to the spending of further increases in wage incomes. This implies that the consumption-stimulating and growth effects of high-wage policies might reach a point of diminishing returns during prosperity. These cases are admittedly matters of speculation. Nevertheless, their potential significance must be considered in critically appraising the purchasing-power doctrine.

### *Summary*

Modern economics has given rise to a wage doctrine which—at least from the viewpoint of many labor leaders—lends some degree of intellectual support to high-wage policies. The assumptions upon which this doctrine rests have escaped comprehensive critical appraisal.

The assumption that low-income groups (labor) have a higher propensity to consume than high-income groups (entrepreneurial-*rentier* classes) is subject to significant criticisms: (a) The identification of "organized labor" with "low-income groups" in labor's interpretation of the doctrine is lacking in preciseness; (b) Psychosociological factors might considerably dampen anticipated consumption-increasing effects resulting from any redistribution of income from upper- to lower-income groups in an application of the doctrine; (c) The propensity to consume of high- and low-income groups might actually be such that the increases in consumption stemming from a more equal distribution of income would be much less than expected by many labor leaders and economists.

Even if an application of the purchasing-power doctrine results in enhanced money-incomes to labor, it does not necessarily follow that any existing unemployment will be mitigated as a result. The reasons for this are manifold: (a) Inflation might dissipate anticipated increases in the expenditures of labor. (b) Under certain conditions, wage increases can be expected to have a retarding effect upon the level of investment expenditures. (c) Households might spend less of an increase in their wage incomes in certain

situations (wherein prices are unstable) than their estimated propensities to consume would lead us to believe.

### *Addenda and Conclusions*

Any exploratory discussion such as this is frequently subject to misinterpretation and unwarranted criticism. Hence, several points should be emphasized: The preceding analysis should not be construed as an advocacy that the purchasing-power doctrine be scrapped. Rather, it is a plea for thorough re-evaluation by all concerned. As currently conceived, it embraces too many implicit assumptions and leads to overly rigid conclusions. The potential or actual defects and shortcomings of the doctrine must not be glossed over or ignored in considering the economic implications of its application.

Another point is that the discussion is incomplete. This is true for two basic reasons. First, no attempt has been made to explore all conceivable ramifications of the purchasing-power theory. Second, certain aspects pursued herein have resulted in very tentative or indeterminate conclusions by virtue of the fact that the doctrine is circumscribed by several of the most polemical areas of labor economics. Hence, the discussion may well have posed more questions than it answered. Indeed, this was an implicit objective.

And I wish to stress that this analysis is *not* to be interpreted as an indictment of union wage-policy nor is it an attempt to imply that union leadership is irresponsible. It is a plea for greater understanding of all possible implications of the purchasing-power doctrine and appropriate policy-adjustments in the light of this understanding.

Despite these qualifications and modifications, three related conclusions can be derived from the preceding discussion:

(1) When the fundamental assumptions underlying the purchasing-power theory of wages are isolated and critically examined, the preciseness and validity of the doctrine deteriorate considerably. The doctrine cannot and should not be employed dogmatically, i.e., under any and all conditions, as if it were an irrevocable maxim of theoretical economics. The many specific contexts in which it might be analyzed and the many noneconomic factors which are evident in exploring its manifold implications preclude an unmodified acceptance of the doctrine. Any concept based upon assumptions which are partial truths, approximations, or generalizations, subject to numerous and significant exceptions, obviously cannot be expected to produce absolutely precise and universally valid conclusions.

(2) The first conclusion implies the possibility that the purchasing-power doctrine may be a part-time friend. That is, it may under certain conditions actually be of value in achieving full employment; on the other hand, as

interpreted by labor, it might be detrimental to the maintenance of full employment at a reasonably stable level of prices. Or, indeed, the effectiveness of the purchasing-power doctrine in achieving full employment might decline and disappear as full employment is approached because of concomitant price increases.

(3) Finally, a hardly abstruse—but nevertheless extremely significant—implication for lawmakers, labor leaders, and economists is inherent in this discussion: The widespread acceptance and popularity of an "economic doctrine" is not a sufficient condition for scientific precision or validity. This obvious fact is too often elusive of recognition and acceptance.

# The Age of Military Leaders and Expansion of the Armed Forces

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THIS PAPER deals with the effect of the expansion of the military forces upon the age of military leaders. Its limited focus rules out a complete discussion of all factors affecting the age of leaders, but it is perhaps pertinent to observe that over the past several centuries the trend has been toward older military leaders. Generals in the several wars of the United States have been progressively older, and leaders in the Second World War were the oldest in history.<sup>1</sup> This increased age may be due in part to an increasing life expectancy, but it appears to be more fundamentally related to a process of institutionalization of the military career, a process which has made available a greater number of trained career officers in each successive war.

The data treated here are limited to four military services and to a relatively short period, so that they bear more directly upon short-run variations than upon long-range trends. They particularly stress two aspects of leadership structure during the Second World War: the decline in the average age of general officers as the war progressed and the markedly younger ages of general officers of the Air Corps as compared to general or flag officers of the three other services (Table 1 and Figure 1).

## *Military Expansion and the Age of Leaders*

The context in which age changes during the Second World War must be viewed is that of an expanding military organization. Demands of society for the military expert are not constant, and in the cycle of war and peace the

NOTE.—This study is a product of the research of the Manpower Research Branch (OERL), Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center; however, personal views or opinions expressed or implied in this article are not to be construed as necessarily carrying the official sanction of the Department of the Air Force or of the Air Research and Development Command. Data for the study have been drawn from Official Army, Air Force, and Navy documents, notably the annual registers and statistical digests, from *Reports* of the Secretary of War and from *The World Almanac* for selected dates.

<sup>1</sup> Harvey C. Lehman, *Age and Achievement* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 280.



military establishment is enlarged or reduced in response to the fluctuating need.

The effect of expansion or reduction of the profession upon the age of leaders is basically related to the fact that entry into the profession is normally, if not exclusively, at the younger ages. The age structure of an officer corps is therefore fixed by the size of annual increments in the same way

TABLE 1

Mean Age by Grade for General and Flag Grade Officers of Four Military Services of the United States, at Selected Dates, 1918-52

<i>As of Date</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Lieutenant General</i>	<i>Major General</i>	<i>Brigadier General</i>
<i>AIR FORCE</i>					
1 Jan., 1940	54.3	....	....	52.0	54.7
1 July, 1945	46.9	53.3	52.4	49.7	45.6
1 Nov., 1952	48.1	51.3	51.3	49.3	46.9
<i>ARMY</i>					
1 Nov., 1918	50.9	55.5	59.0	55.8	49.0
1 Jan., 1940	59.0	59.0	60.8	61.2	58.1
1 July, 1945	53.1	57.0	57.0	54.9	52.1
1 Nov., 1952	53.7	57.2	56.7	55.2	52.3
<i>MARINE CORPS</i>					
1 Jan., 1940	57.6	....	....	60.3	56.4
1 May, 1945	52.5	58.0	63.0	54.3	51.0
1 Nov., 1952	53.5	56.0	57.5	55.7	51.5
<i>NAVY</i>					
		<i>Admiral</i>	<i>Vice Admiral</i>	<i>Rear Admiral</i>	
1 Jan., 1940	58.2	60.5	58.7	58.0	
1 May, 1945	56.4*	63.6	59.6	55.0	
1 Nov., 1952	53.5	56.4	57.1	52.8	

\* Does not include 107 Regular officers in grade of commodore averaging 51.6 years of age known to have been on active duty.

Source: Computed or extracted from the annual volumes of the *Official Register* (Army, Navy, and Air Force), 1918-54 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919-54); *The Army Almanac* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950); Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Age of American Military Leaders," *Statistical Bulletin*, Vol. 26 (June, 1945), pp. 1-3; Vol. 26 (July, 1945), pp. 8-10; Vol. 26 (August, 1945), pp. 2-4.

(and to approximately the same extent) that the age structure of a population is fixed by the annual increments of births.<sup>2</sup> Since the number of experienced individuals in any age group cannot be increased above those admitted to training some years previously, it follows that the age at which individuals achieve high-status positions within an organization depends partly upon

<sup>2</sup> Although mortality and migration are important determinants of age structure, in this case initial accessions seem to be the more important. See Vasilios G. Valaoras, "Patterns of Aging of Human Population" in *The Social and Biological Challenge of Our Aging Population* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 67-85.

the number of such positions available.<sup>3</sup> That is, an increased demand for a profession which leads to its expansion will lower the age at which experienced members achieve high-status positions by increasing the number of such positions. Conversely, a reduction in demand will raise the age at which high status is achieved. In this respect, new ventures are similar to expanding ones, both drawing their leaders from among the more recently trained.<sup>4</sup>

The number of leadership positions created by expansion will, of course, depend upon the nature of the organizational expansion—the number of organizational units added and the manner in which they are pyramided. The number of generals in relation to the number of all officers or of all personnel is not a precise index to military organizational expansion, since persons in comparable leadership positions are not always accorded comparable titular status. But using this imprecise index as the best available, the four services were found to differ considerably in their ratios of total expansion, officer expansion, and increase in number of general and flag officers, as well as in the relationship between the ratios (Table 2). They differed also in the proportion of officers who held the grade of general or flag officer. The Marine Corps was highest in this respect, with 2 generals per 1,000 officers; the Army was next, with 1.9; and the Air Corps was lowest, with less than 1 (0.8) general per 1,000 officers. The Navy was approximately halfway between the Army and the Air Corps, with 1.2 flag officers per 1,000 officers, but it led all the services in percentage of its flag officers above the rank of rear admiral (major general in the other services).

Inquiry into the causes of these differences is beyond the scope of this paper, but, in line with the argument which follows, it is undoubtedly true that if the Navy's proportion of flag officers had been higher, their average age would have been less; and undoubtedly so would that of Air Force generals. Accepting the differences as they are, however, Figure 1 adequately demonstrates the effect of expansion upon the age of officers for each of the four services in the Second World War. The decline in average age kept pace with the increase in the number of general and flag officers, and the age decline was roughly correlated with the increase of general officers. Expansion ratios and the decline in average age for Regular general officers for 1939–45 are shown in Table 3.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming, of course, that status achievement is a function of experience, and that qualities of charisma are not totally lacking in the trained group.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Harvey C. Lehman, "Ages at Time of First Election of Presidents of Professional Organizations," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 80 (May, 1955), p. 297.

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Fig. 1. (see following pages)—Average age of Regular general or flag officers related to officer strength for the Air Corps, Army, Marine Corps, and Navy, 1939–1945

# 1939 -

NO. OF OFFICERS

600,000

400,000

200,000

100,000

80,000

60,000

40,000

20,000

10,000

8,000

6,000

4,000

2,000

1,000

800

600

400

200

100

80

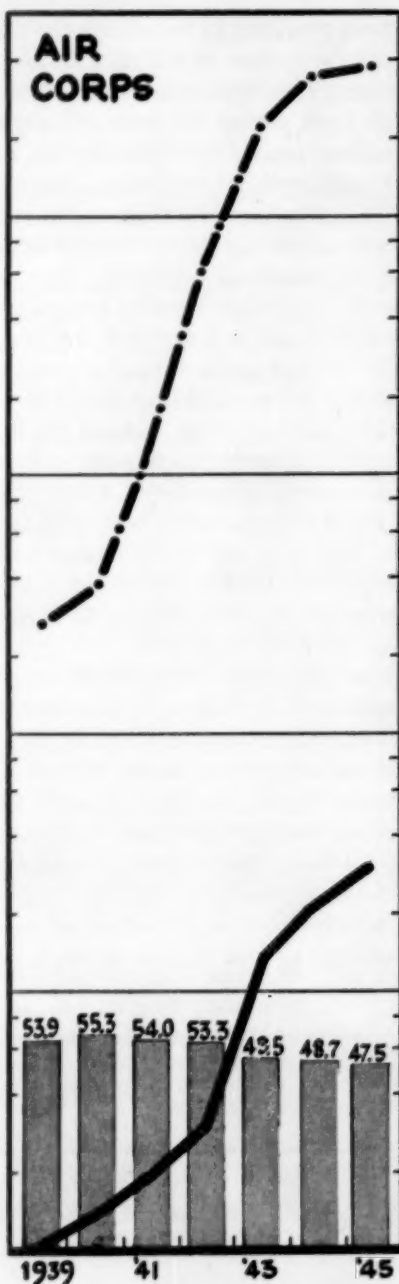
60

40

20

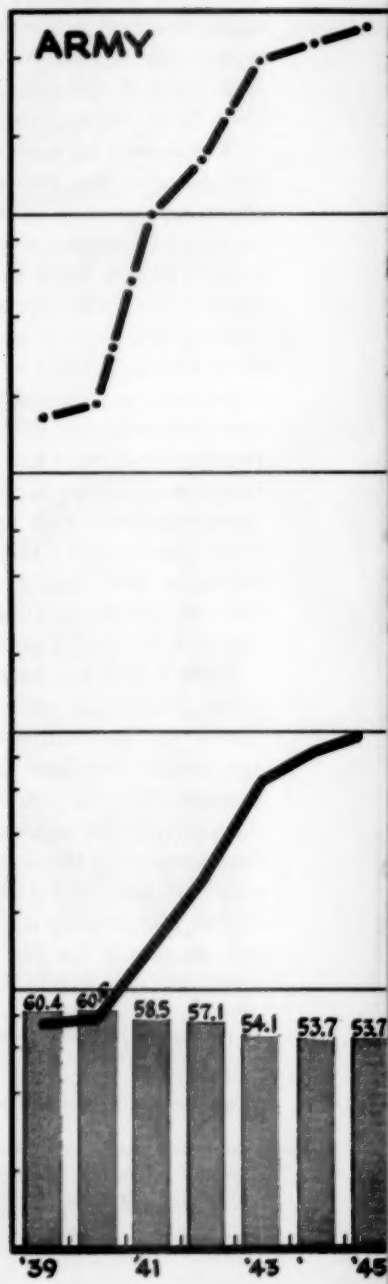
10

**AIR CORPS**



--- ALL OFFICERS

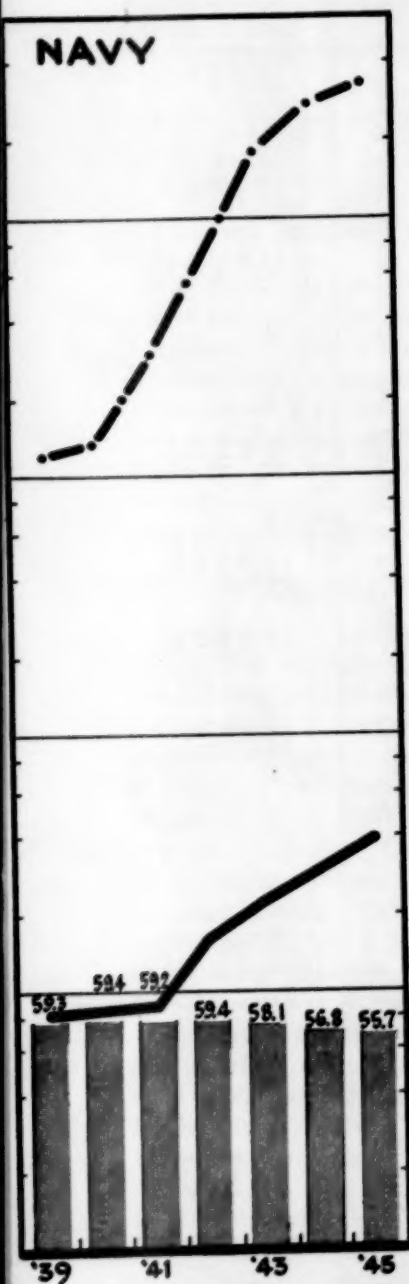
**ARMY**



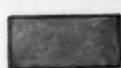
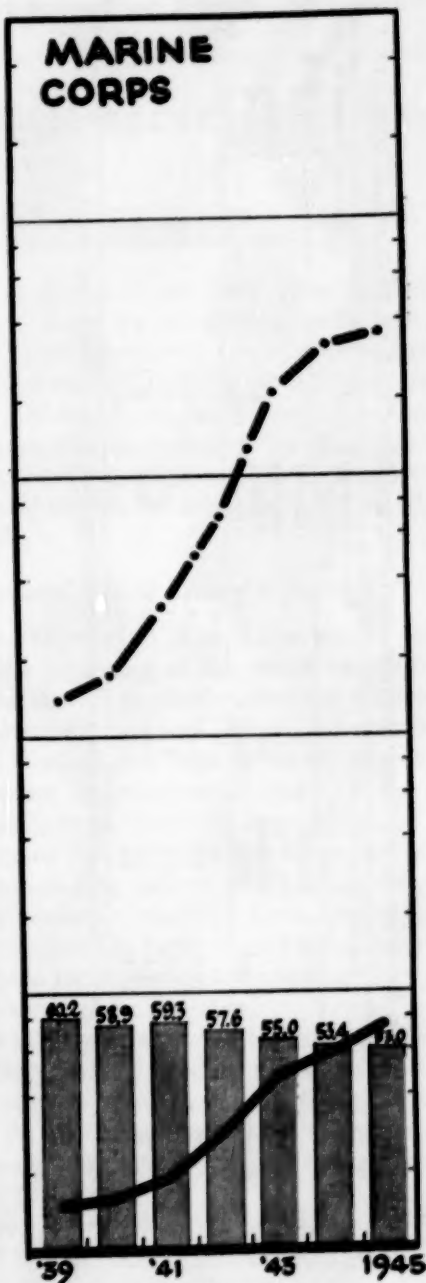
— GENERAL OR FLAG OFFICER

# 1945

## NAVY



## MARINE CORPS



**AVERAGE AGE OF GENERAL  
OR FLAG OFFICERS**

TABLE 2

Estimated Expansion Ratios for the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, and Navy, 1916-18, 1939-45, and 1948-52

Service	Ratio of Strength in 1918 to That of 1916			Ratio of Strength in 1945 to That of 1939			Ratio of Strength in 1952 to That of 1948		
	Total	General and Flag Officers		Total	General and Flag Officers		Total	General and Flag Officers	
		Only	All Officers		Only	All Officers		Only	All Officers
Air Force	....	...	....	96.9	32.2	112.1	2.5	1.9	2.6
Army	18.3	9.3	22.2	35.2	16.7	32.7	2.9	1.3	2.2
Marine Corps	5.0	4.0	4.3	24.4	5.1	26.9	2.8	1.3	2.4
Navy	7.4	3.2	5.9	27.0	5.0	27.6	2.0	1.1	1.9
All Services	15.4	6.9	16.9	36.1	11.3	38.8	2.5	1.4	2.3

NOTE—Expansion ratios are not shown separately for enlisted men since they are always relatively close to those for total strength.

TABLE 4

Average Age of Regular General or Flag Officers on Active Duty in Specified Year Not on Active Duty as General or Flag Officers in Immediately Preceding Year

Service	Year					
	1940		1941		1942	
	No.	Mean Age	No.	Mean Age	No.	Mean Age
Air Corps	2	55.5	10	51.5	11	50.6
Army	11	57.7	83	56.4	132	54.7
Marine Corps	6	56.2	4	57.8	12	55.1
Navy	10	55.8	16	56.8	86	58.8
					81	54.6
					22	51.3
					354	48.1
					98	46.0
					88	43.4
					217	50.6
					18	49.6
					90	51.8
					102	50.2
					22	50.5
					123	51.4



TABLE 3

Expansion Ratios and Decline in Average Age of Regular Generals and Flag Officers, 1939-45

Service	Expansion Ratio	Decline in Average Age in Years	
		(1939-45)	(1940-45)
Air Corps	30.8*	6.4	7.8
Army	13.5*	6.7	6.9
Marine Corps	5.1	7.2	5.9
Navy	5.0	3.6	3.7

\* Differs from ratios in Table 2 as a result of restriction here to Regular officers.

The rank-order correlation is perfect if age changes for the 1940-45 period are used, rather less so if those for the 1939-45 period are used. The erratic character of the 1939-45 relationship may be dismissed as idiosyncratic, since the appointment of but very few new general officers in each of the services in 1939 altered considerably the data for the two smaller ones (i.e., raising the age of Air Corps generals, lowering that of Marine Corps generals).<sup>5</sup> But even if the rank-order correlation of 1.00, obtained from the 1940-45 age changes, is accepted, the decline in age is not exactly proportional to the rate of expansion.

#### *Differential Physical Demands and Use of Retired Officers*

Several possible modifications of the effect of expansion may be noted in passing. The average age at the beginning of the period set against the physical requirements for generals will obviously affect the decline. The physical demands made on a Marine Corps field general, for example, are probably incompatible with an average age of 59 years for any large number of generals. Purely from impression, the inference has been made that physical considerations operated similarly to lower the average age of Army generals, though to a lesser degree than in the Marine Corps, whereas the Navy probably provides its top-ranking officers with greater safeguards against exhausting physical demands. On the other hand, beginning with an average age of 53.9, the Air Corps could hardly be said to find compelling reasons on physical grounds alone for lowering its average age, though the age range among pilots was greater than for nonpilots.

Probably related to the physical requirements was the differential utilization of retired officers. The Navy had the greatest proportion of these in 1945—15.0 per cent—as compared with 6.6, 4.4, and 1.9 per cent for the Marine Corps, the Army, and the Air Corps, respectively. It is not known to the writers to what extent the several services differed in allowing retirements

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, additional appointments before 1941 again lowered the Air Corps average, raised that for the Marine Corps.

to be postponed as compared with the practice of retiring an officer and then immediately recalling him to active duty without a real break in service.

### *Age Structure*

Although the foregoing considerations undoubtedly affect the degree of change in average age, the fundamental influence on the age of leaders lies in the structure of officer populations. As a rule, general officers are selected from among officers who presumably have effective years of service ahead. The positions are functional, not honorary. The average age of Air Force generals in 1952 was about five years higher than their age at appointment as general officers, four-star generals having served some nine years since first appointment as a general officer. When rapid expansion takes place, therefore, average age tends toward age at appointment, though its net effect is probably small.

A much greater reduction in average age results from the limited availability of trained officers at the older ages. As noted above, the age structure of a professionally trained group is determined by annual increments in past years. Those who had reached ages 50-60 in 1940-45, for example, had entered upon military careers some twenty to thirty years earlier, their first service centering around 1916-17. All the services were affected by expansion during and after the First World War, but the demands of the First World War, combined with the subsequent economy toward the armed forces, had not created structures commensurate with the requirements of the Second World War. It was thus necessary for all services to draw upon younger men in order to meet the demands for general officers. The Air Corps, being relatively youthful, had fewer officers in the older ages to draw on and, because it had expanded more rapidly, was faced with a greater demand.

The stringency imposed by age structure of career officers alone can be demonstrated with data on the Army and the Air Corps. On January 1, 1940, the 2,042 Regular officers of the Air Corps and the 11,384 Regular officers of the Army (excluding Air Corps) were distributed as shown in Figure 2. If all officers had remained in service until 1945 and general officers had been selected solely on the basis of seniority, the Air Corps would have had to dip into age group 45-49 (as of 1940) for its 308 generals in 1945, whereas the Army could have found 1,213 general officers without dropping much below age 55 (as of 1940). Raising the age of officer population five years

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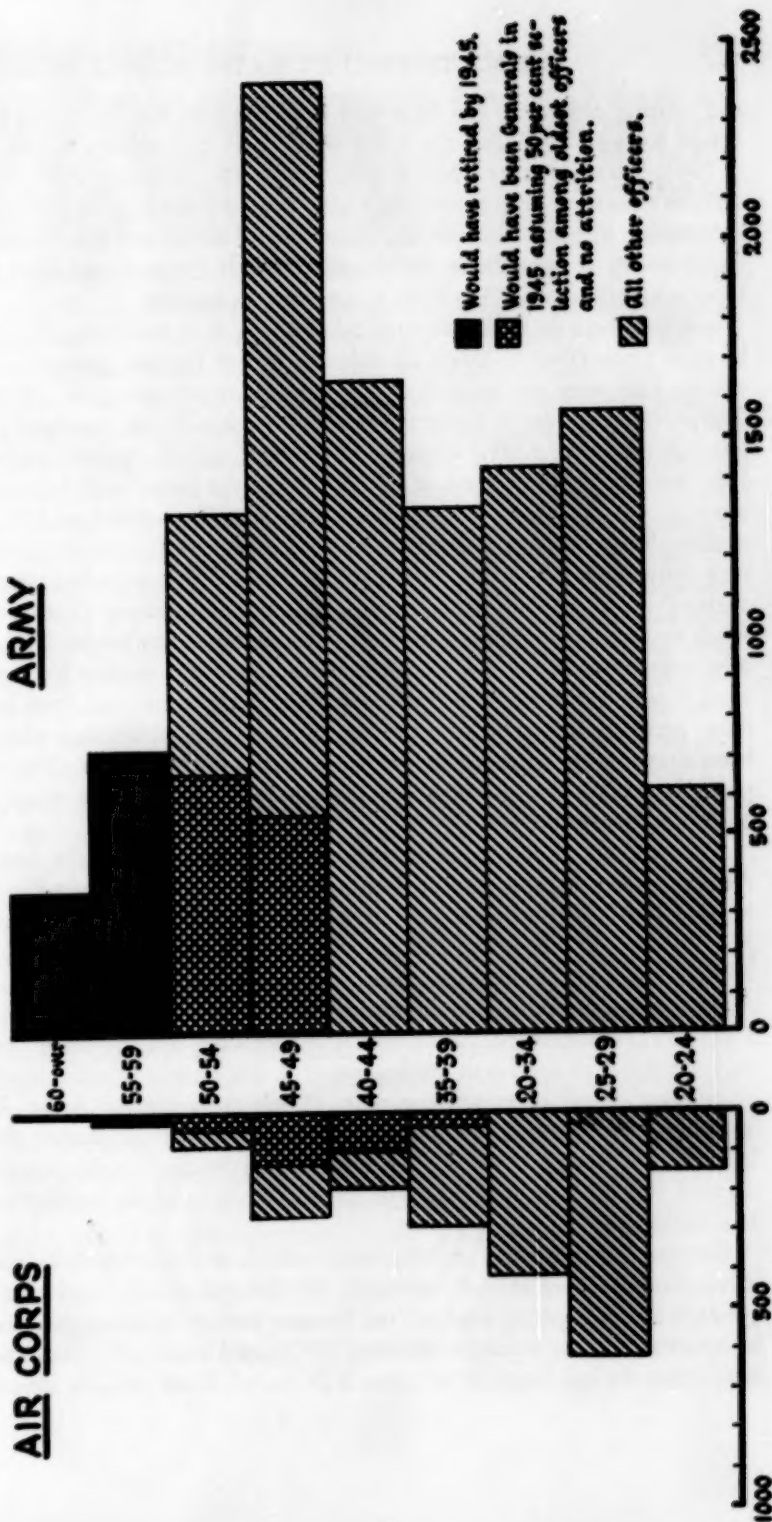
Fig. 2. (facing page)—Actual number of Regular generals in 1945 related to the age distribution of Regular officers in 1940 for the Air Corps and Army (under specified conditions of promotability and retirement for senior officers)

# 1940

AGE

AIR CORPS

ARMY



NUMBER of OFFICERS

and retiring officers at age 60 would have required the Air Corps to drop almost to age 50, whereas the Army would have had enough at ages 55-59 in 1945. Since not every officer is qualified for top leadership, obviously both services needed to drop below these ages. If we assume that 50 per cent were promotable to general officer, the Army would have been able to satisfy its requirements at ages above 50, whereas the Air Corps would have had to drop to age group 40-45 in order to complete its number.

Against these patently arbitrary calculations, it is interesting to compare by year from 1940 to 1945 the average age of Regular general and flag officers who were not general or flag officers the previous year (Table 4). The averages are rough approximations, involving for the most part "new" generals—especially after 1942—and overstate age at appointment by one-half to one year, but the basis of calculation was the same for all four services. Average age declined for all four services, it will be noted, and the more notable declines in age generally were associated with the greater number of new appointees. The Army, Navy, and Marine Corps appear to have phased their selections, appointments through 1941 averaging above 55 years of age, while appointments in the next three years averaged age 50-54. The age of new appointees in the Air Corps, however, dropped steadily from year to year. It may well have been that the Air Corps was prevented from making more general officers because the age groups from which they must have been drawn were so much below those of the other services. This would partially explain the comparatively low percentage of generals among total officers in that service (only 0.8 per 1,000).

The necessity of taking younger officers for top positions in the Army and Air Corps as a consequence of their age structures can be generalized concerning the Navy and Marine Corps only through inference, since comparable data on age of all officers were not readily available. Enough is known, however, to assert that their structures were generally similar to the Army's, though modified by administrative differences. The Navy adopted a rigorous personnel policy somewhat earlier than did the other services, and as a result of consistent application of it, the Navy controlled the development of its officer population more closely than did the Army. It also apparently exercised more rigid restriction upon expansion during the war in order to prevent upsetting its long-range personnel plans, which may account for the lesser expansion of its flag officers and the smaller decline in average age.

Despite this difference and the minor effects of differentials in physical demands and use of retired personnel, the data presented demonstrate that generals are younger in wartime, not because warfare requires younger men so much as because it creates demands for trained leaders which can be met only when the age range of selection is increased. Some civilian occupations

prepare individuals for purely administrative tasks, and all the services apparently rely upon these trained workers for certain duties. In the main, however, military leadership devolves upon those who have had lengthy training in the more specialized and technical aspects of the occupation and who are more or less familiar with the operation of the "system."

### *Changes in Age Since the Second World War*

Extending the analysis beyond the period of the Second World War, some adjustment between the services can be noted. Immediately following the war the armed forces declined in strength when demobilization occurred. Many older officers, fatigued by the constant pressure of four or five years of war or faced with reduction in rank, took advantage of their eligibility to retire. This inevitably reduced the age of generals on active duty, though it was offset to some extent by reductions in grade among younger officers.

From 1948 to 1952, however, the armed forces underwent a second expansion. The Air Force again experienced greater growth for officers and for general officers, due in part, presumably, to its having been given autonomy in 1947 (Table 2). The average age of its generals, however, increased between 1945-52 (Table 1), whereas that of the Navy flag officers declined; the Army and Marine Corps showed little change. Generals of the Air Force were still about five years younger than their counterparts in the other services, but the convergence was unmistakable. What is known of age structures would indicate that such convergence will continue, since the Air Force is on a par with other services and since general officers will be more and more drawn from increments to the structure in the 1930's and 1940's. The application of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 to all the services will also tend in this direction. Although the Air Force's requirements for more youthful leaders may cause that service to "institutionalize" a younger general-officer corps through administration of personnel policies, there are difficulties to this process which are beyond the scope of the present paper.

What has been said by no means disclaims that personnel or promotion policies among the several services differ. It does contend that a first step in evaluating those policies should be the analysis of the effect exerted by the age structure of the officer population from which the leaders must be chosen. Further, it is hypothesized that, in bureaucracies, two determinants of the age of leaders at any moment in time are paramount: (1) the age structure of trained personnel that has developed to that moment, and (2) the relative degree of expansion or reduction faced by the organization.



# Social Determinants of the Role of a Civil Service

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THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT that at no time in our history has the morale of the civil service been lower than today. There is also general agreement as to the causes of this state of affairs—the wholesale attacks upon the service and the indiscriminate operation of the security-risk program. But this is explanation in a very superficial way only, for we have to answer the question, "Why did the public do so little in defending the service?" or, to put the question more bluntly, "Why is the prestige of the civil service so low in our society?" To ask this question is inevitably to have the more fortunate position of the European civil service come to mind. Why the difference? A comparative approach has the merit of inducing us to see the service not merely as a technical apparatus which can be mechanically improved, but, more significantly, as a social institution reflecting values and attitudes of society at large, factors which have principally to be considered if remedial action is contemplated.

This paper is an attempt at sketching, perhaps largely as an impression, the difference in the social settings of the American and European civil services. Before starting, I have to deal with one thing: a broad term like "European" civil service might create certain misgivings. It is true, of course, that there are differences between the German (here the pre-Hitler period is considered), the French, and the British civil service, to mention only the more important ones. Yet I will be bold enough to assert that these differences concern not essentials but merely detail and emphasis. For so far as civil services as social institutions are concerned, the essential difference is provided by the difference in the assumed relationship between the individual and society. Where society is viewed as nothing but an aggregate of individuals, and the function of society seen only as one of providing a framework for the pursuit of individual happiness, we will have one general pattern of a civil service, characterized by the fact that the service will have no orientation beyond that given by the politics of the day. Where, on the other hand, society is viewed as an entity in itself, with a life of its own, so to speak, we will have another general pattern of a civil service, characterized

by the fact that the civil service will have an orientation derived from the traditionally accepted interpretation of the nation's destiny. Clearly, Germany, France, and Great Britain are part of the first pattern; the United States, of the second. In the case of Germany and France we can bolster our argument by conjuring up the names of Hegel and Rousseau, the spiritual godfathers of their respective modern nations. One is an authoritarian, pure and simple, the other a totalitarian democrat. Both ascribe to the collective an existence of its own. But what about Great Britain? Here it is important to recall that the British conservative tradition is "statist." It was the Tory party that in the constitutional fights of the seventeenth century upheld the authority of the Crown against Parliament. Although the Conservatives long since have come to accept the supremacy of Parliament, the fact that for many generations the upper classes controlled it has not led to a belief, on the part of the Conservatives, that Parliament is the arena for the expression of popular whims; it has, on the contrary, made them feel that Parliament is a hallowed institution of the state. So far as British liberalism is concerned, it was not Locke but the Utilitarians who left their imprint upon the movement. (The distinguishing mark between early American and British liberalism is the greater acceptance of Locke in our own country than in Great Britain.) The Utilitarians, with their ridicule of natural rights and their concern with the happiness of the greatest number, give scope to social action and provide a possible orientation to a civil service: the creation of a welfare state. What I am driving at is that in Great Britain, not less than in Germany or France, there is a basis for the orientation of the civil service beyond merely what happens on the political scene. The democratic tradition in Great Britain is reflected in the fact that, though its service has an orientation and an *esprit de corps*, it has never tried to become an autonomous institution within British society. The authoritarian tradition in Germany, on the other hand, has led to exactly such a situation. France seems to be somehow in-between. Her greater statist tradition (as compared to Great Britain) is mitigated by the Gallic wit and its ridicule of authority.

Basic, then, for an understanding of the European civil servant is the fact that he serves the state (Crown) and not the government. What usually strikes the American as so strange is the impression that for the European the state is a reality. Yet in the eyes of the European, the state, as the legal organization of society, has the function of guardian of the traditions and the culture of a nation. In contradistinction to this function is its responsibility to provide the legal structural-framework necessary to carry out the day-to-day activities on behalf of the citizenry. While it is considered the task of the politician to serve the needs of the day in accordance with the wishes or whims of the people, it is also agreed, at least tacitly, that the civil servant must serve some higher ends. His interpretation of these higher ends

appears in the manner in which he executes the policies decided upon by politicians. Yet there are areas completely removed from the tug of war of politics—areas of education and cultural policy.

Since the state is the custodian of a nation's culture, it is, of course, a legitimate activity for it to run theaters, orchestras, and museums, not to speak of educational institutions. The actual management of these institutions is left to the civil service. Given their education, which is superior to that of the average political leader, their social contacts with actors, writers, and composers, which are far more intimate than those enjoyed by most politicians, the higher civil servants of the cultural and educational departments are in a position to establish policies in these fields and execute them without interference from popularly elected officials. If one were to ask a European civil servant whether in doing all these things he is politically neutral, he would answer in good conscience, "Yes," for he is convinced that his interpretation is in line with the very fundamentals of society about which there can be no serious dispute, though, of course, a temporary aberration by the people and their representatives is always possible.

What, then, is the orientation of the civil servant, and from what source is it derived? Perhaps it is necessary to recall here that the modern state in Europe is but a continuation of the dynastic state. When the latter disappeared or became modified, certain concepts of justice, dignity, responsibility for patronizing the arts and sciences, and of paternalism, originally associated with the good ruler, survived and were considered henceforth to be an obligation of the state. That these notions were vague did not stand in the way of their being taken seriously, nor did they prove deficient in establishing the basis for a characteristic orientation of the civil service. At the minimum, they provided an "ideological core" around which an *esprit de corps* could be built. Also important in this respect was and is the humanistic education of the higher civil servants, which not only adds a certain substance to the concepts we have spoken of before, but also creates a set of common cultural values held throughout the service. The orientation toward the state is aided by the particular educational preparation which the high civil servant receives, and the legalistic approach toward political science and public administration, predominant at European universities, is instrumental in hiding the realities of politics and in creating a metaphysical attitude toward the state.

Let us pause here for a moment to inquire whether we can find in America some parallel to what has been said in previous paragraphs. There is such a parallel. If I were to take the American Constitution, I could make intelligible a number of things which I have said previously in connection with the state. The American Constitution is more than basic law; it is laden with emotions. When people speak about the Constitution, mental pictures of

George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and other revered leaders are conjured up. Whenever a problem arises, folklore, at least, demands that we solve it in the spirit of the founding fathers. It is generally accepted that the eternal verities are embodied in the Constitution and that the wisdom of its authors is timeless. Even those who reject such a view concede that the Constitution is highly charged with inspirational and emotional power.

There is a second parallel. Whereas in Europe the civil service interprets the state, in this country a special group interprets the Constitution and serves as its guardian—the judges of the federal court system. If we were to ask the members of the Supreme Court—or to switch back, suppose we had asked the members of the court between 1890 and 1937 whom they were serving, their answer would undoubtedly have been that they were serving the Constitution. If we had asked them whether they were partisan or neutral, they would have stated with great conviction that they were neutral and that they were simply preventing arbitrariness and capriciousness on the part of the legislature.

Now, the principal difference between the United States and Europe is that the power to deflect the will of legislature is official in the United States, though narrow in scope and negative in nature. In Europe, on the other hand, such power is unofficial, yet positive in nature and wide in scope.

From my native Austria I give a very charming example which shows both the orientation of the civil service and the technique used to apply it. Since business is not as respectable in Europe as it is in this country, neither is the study of business administration. The result was that for a long time no doctor's degree in business administration was offered. The highest academic commercial degree which the universities in Austria offered was one corresponding to our master's. In time, however, some other European universities began to offer a doctorate in business administration. It was felt that in order to prevent students from the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian empire from bypassing Austrian educational institutions, Austria too should offer a doctorate in business administration. In many quarters a hue and cry was raised that to give a doctorate to people who study only business would be to debase the degree itself. Nevertheless, legislation was passed authorizing such a practice. Of course, the law was passed in skeleton form and contained the usual provision that the detailed supplementary regulations concerning requirements for the degree should be made by the Ministry of Instruction. At this point the bureaucracy went to work. The education prescribed by the Austrian higher bureaucracy is humanistic. The high civil servants have graduated from colleges where Latin and Greek are taught, and where the orientation is definitely toward classical subjects. They quite naturally felt that it was highly unwise that a doctorate be given to people

engaged only in the study of business administration. What did they do? They proceeded to establish such rigorous requirements for the degree that it became one of the most difficult to obtain.

That the civil service can do all these things presupposes a power basis within society at large. What are its roots? The prestige of the higher civil servant has its roots deep in history. Within the dynastic state, the function of the bureaucrat of the administrative class was to be an adviser of the dynast. Now, the prestige which a person or a group possesses depends largely on how close to, or how remote from, the seat of power he or it is. In the era of the dynastic state, the high civil servant was very close to the seat of power. Once the bureaucrat had acquired prestige, such prestige survived the coming of the representative institution and the rise of a commercial class. This is nothing extraordinary. Quite commonly, values created in one era are carried over into the next. But, in addition to this, the business class has not been able to rise to the same prominence in Europe as it has in the United States simply because its function in society and its contribution to the well-being of the people are incomparably smaller than in America. In Europe there were no such great opportunities for business and industry as in America, and, as a result, the opportunities of the new middle class were more restricted. There was no continent to conquer, no frontier to expand. European communities had been settled for centuries, and the basis for economic development had been laid in the era of mercantilism, when the court and the bureaucracy played a vital role. Yet even in the nineteenth century the pioneering role of the state remained significant, for railroads and telephone and telegraph facilities were established by the state. It was, therefore, inevitable that people continued to look to the state as the inspirer for enterprise. Worth mentioning in this connection perhaps is the great degree of confidence which the European man in the street has in an economic enterprise run by the state, as contrasted to his negative reaction to one run by private business. A long era of medievalism, with its depreciation of earthly goods and the profit motive, still leaves the European uneasy in the presence of business for gain. In contrast to the greed which he sees exhibited by private enterprise, the state, as exemplified by its civil servants, appears to him a model of selflessness and devotion to the common good.

Propitious for the development of the prestige of the bureaucrat in Europe has been the international setting of European politics. The game of power politics required a corps of educated and experienced diplomats. It required also an experienced officer corps for the "continuation of politics by other means." Since the very existence of the state was dependent upon the skill and loyalty of those who served it, it was inevitable that the servants of the state should be in an exalted position.

Helpful in maintaining the prestige of the civil service among the popula-



tion at large was the tradition of paternalism. This tradition concealed the inherent conservatism of the service. After all, initially, the difference between paternalistic and socialistic measures is quite often more a matter of spirit than substance. The attitude of the civil service in Europe was, therefore, never at variance with the tendencies of the modern welfare state. There has existed, then, a very fortunate combination of circumstances for the maintenance of the prestige of the civil servant: by social background and taste he is related to the upper class of society; his paternalism makes him sympathetic to the popular aspirations for economic betterment.

Another facet of the basis for the prestige of the European civil servant which deserves separate consideration is the fact that he is an intellectual. And in European society the intellectual definitely occupies an elevated position. The intellectual class in Europe is composed of the higher civil servants and members of the professions. The professional person must of necessity expend a major portion of his energy in "making good" in the competitive struggle, whereas the civil servant—with his greater security—finds it possible to devote himself to cultural tasks to a far greater extent and with a greater ease of mind than the professional man. Cultural associations in the various European countries have always had their fair share of civil servants; to have the name of a bureau chief in a ministry on the letterhead is a distinction eagerly sought by promoters of cultural and intellectual activities. The position of the intellectual in Europe means also that even where a genuine democracy exists there still will be certain self-restraint on the part of the public in the face of questions which are beyond its grasp. Thus, large areas of public policy, like education and culture, are exempted from the tug of war of politics.

If we now compare the position of the American bureaucrat with his counterpart in Europe, what strikes one first are the differences in historic background. The beginning of this nation coincided with the rise of business and industry. In addition, a new country with great opportunities provided challenges not for the bureaucracy, but for the pioneers who settled the country, built the railroads and steel mills. Rugged individualism, a theory of *laissez faire*, left no room for the concept that society was something more than a convenient arrangement for the pursuit of individual happiness and profit. The state was expected merely to play the role of a night watchman—and what person of ambition wants to be on the staff of a night watchman? Furthermore, the external security of the country, its noninvolvement in international politics, with the concomitant absence of the need for able diplomats and officers, provided no challenging service in government for the able and ambitious. Why should those who entered the civil service enjoy a particular prestige? Very often those who enrolled in the service of the national government did not intend to remain on a permanent basis.

Frequent turnover did not permit the development of an *esprit de corps*. There were no common tastes, and a common culture was lacking which would have united the people serving their government. What, then, could have been the orientation of the civil service? *Laissez faire* meant the very negation of the significance of a civil service.

Add to this the great amount of experimentation going on in a new society—the continuous playing with new ideas. In such a society nothing is settled. Toward what goal should a group like the bureaucracy orient itself? What traditions can it accept as binding, what objectives can it establish for itself? And as for morale, there was business life as a constant lure. To stay in the bureaucracy was more a life of resignation than of dedication. The prestige derived from being an intellectual was also lacking on the American scene. First of all, intellectual achievement does not carry a great prestige. As George F. Kennan pointed out in an address at Notre Dame University: "In these forces I have spoken about, it seems to me that I detect a conscious rejection and ridicule of intellectual effort and distinction. They come together here with a deep-seated weakness in the American character, a certain shy self-consciousness that tends to deny interests other than those of businesses, sport, or war. There is a powerful strain of our American cast of mind that has little use for the artist or the writer, and professes to see in the pursuits of such people a lack of virility. . . ." In addition to the general attitude described here there is the additional factor that the civil servant himself may have few intellectual inclinations. He may have worked himself up from the ranks and may not have the broad cultural background of the European civil servant, who, coming mostly from a sheltered middle-class home, could use his university years for other than a purely professional training.

The result of all this is that the American civil servant possesses no "privileged sanctuary" from which to operate. While democracy in even the most democratic countries of Europe means simply that people will voice their views only on those matters which are close to home and leave all other things to an elite (of which the civil service is a part), in our country there is a robust conviction that everybody, if he so chooses, can legitimately speak on anything. Consequently, no social activity is removed from the power of the politician and of pressure groups.

Thus, there is little in the background of the American civil service to give to it a prestige even faintly comparable to that of its European counterpart. Only once—during the New Deal period—did a different situation prevail. But this situation did not actually introduce a new trend (as was believed by the New Dealers) but rather constituted an exceptional episode brought about by a unique configuration of circumstances. What happened first of all was that in a moment of confusion the business class in our country

abdicated its role. But this was only a temporary abdication. Into this void stepped a very heterogeneous group of officials, some of whom possessed a devotion to a new philosophy in government; the rest more or less inclined to follow a pragmatic course, taking care of emergencies as they arose. It was only the first category which was able to provide a new stature for the civil servant and give the impression that there was room for intellectuals in government. What these officials in their zeal overlooked was the fact that they failed to capture the imagination of the country at large and that, since their success was based largely upon assumptions which run counter to American mythology, it was on shaky grounds. Ultimately the downfall of the class of new civil servants came. It was ushered in under a general indictment that some of them were connected with communism. Yet this was a mere rationalization for a deeper cause. The case of Alger Hiss did not actually contribute to the downfall of the New Deal civil service; rather, it is true that the successful use of the affair of Alger Hiss to discredit the new class of civil servants was a symptom of its inherent weakness. No string of indictments of conservative congressmen on charges of kickbacks will discredit either conservatism or Congress itself; likewise, a series of cases like that of the missing diplomats would not discredit the British civil service.

The real reason for the downfall of the new civil servant was that, by and large, he was devoted, efficient, and constructive, and these qualities are crimes against tradition and the stereotypes which support it. That the business community became alarmed at a civil service which showed such qualities, and at the success of big government based upon them, was understandable. On the other hand, the civil servant during the short period of his ascendancy had not been able to divest himself of the habitual admiration for big money prevalent in society, nor was he successful in developing a true *esprit de corps*. Those at the top of the service abandoned the "good cause" at the first signs of the gathering storm, jumping at any tempting offer from business which came along and leaving leaderless the mass of the service.

Some dream about a second New Deal which will redeem our civil service. Such dreams are idle. We won't have a second New Deal. Our business community will not abdicate a second time, nor will the pressure again rise for doing it. Our business community has accepted most of the economic techniques of the New Deal, on a stand-by basis, and would not hesitate to have them used if the necessity should arise.

This question then remains, "Who will do the job which has to be done, running the complex operations of the government of the most powerful country in the world?" Our civil service has become incapacitated to do it. Will the business community step in? True, a great number of business executives have moved into top positions of the government. One may even

discover a tendency to consider the higher echelons of the public service, the echelons comparable to the administrative class of the British civil service, as the preserve of the business executive. But does the necessary responsibility go with this development? Is the outlook of the business executive of broad enough scope? So far, experience does not bear out either. The fleshpots of business seem to exert an irresistible pull back to business in a very short time. Then there is the question of whether business climate and government climate are interchangeable, so that one can dwell comfortably in either. The business executive is accustomed to a rather authoritarian setting, with quick decisions from the top and perfunctory accountability only to the stockholder. Government, with its Constitutional processes and its political sensitivities, may appear to him a waste of time and effort—another reason for a quick return to business. So far as vision goes, can the business executive transcend the framework of narrow business interests? Even more fundamental, is the business community itself a positive enough community or is it merely a defense-community, so to speak? These are important questions. The danger is that neither will the civil servant be permitted to do the job, nor will business be prepared to do it. The result could be a creeping paralysis of our public service.

Yet some seem to see hopeful signs that our large corporations are aware of their responsibilities. Part of this new outlook may be a willingness to staff the government on a more steady basis and encourage among business executives a wider horizon. If this is true, then the moral is, "Young man, if you want to serve your government in a big way, make first a success of yourself in business."

# Social Forces in Petition-Signing

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ONE APPROACH to social science involves the experimental analysis of phenomena, with investigations conducted under test-tube conditions to replicate situations occurring in real-life settings.<sup>1</sup> Two advantages result from transposing laboratory methods of experimentation to the natural setting where the phenomenon occurs. One is that increased confidence can be placed in the conclusions reached concerning the explanation of the phenomenon, since the method makes use of both control and systematic variation rather than depending upon procedures which allow for only *post hoc* explanations. A second advantage concerns the directness of the application of the findings. Since the social action investigated occurs under natural conditions and since participants are unaware that their behavior is being evaluated in a systematic way, there can be no question as to the validity of the conclusions reached for use in social engineering. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate an experimental social analysis of a typical community phenomenon through a critique of the petition as a mechanism for inducing social change, and to evaluate the principles derived therefrom for application from the standpoint of social engineering.

## *The Problem*

Pressures for change are often created by the petition. The petition is recognized as an effective means of exerting social pressure, owing to the generally accepted premise that the larger the number of signatures affixed, the more widespread the sentiment in favor of the proposal. But additional factors, unrecognized in the assertion that an endorsement indicates support, undoubtedly limit the validity of this assumption. One such factor is the way in which the request for support of the proposal is expressed at the time the

<sup>1</sup> Robert R. Blake, "Social Standards and Individual Conduct," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 35 (June, 1954), pp. 11-24; Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, "Present and Future Implications of Social Psychology for Law and Lawyers," *Journal of Public Law*, Vol. 3 (1955), 352-69; Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, "The Study of Social Conduct within the Framework of Adaptation-Level Theory," in Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Emerging Problems in Social Psychology* (third conference in social psychology, University of Oklahoma, in press).



endorsement is sought. Given the same proposal, for example, a strong plea would be expected to elicit more signatures than a weak one. Another limiting factor involves the knowledge that other people are giving their endorsements or are refusing to do so. The former condition would be expected to produce more endorsements than the latter. The combination of these factors that would produce a high rate of endorsement would be a strong request plus the knowledge that others are also endorsing. A weak plea, together with the knowledge that others are refusing to endorse, would significantly decrease the rate.

The present experiment is designed to determine the validity of the foregoing predictions. To the extent that an endorsement rate is governed by the strength of the plea and the knowledge of the reactions of others, the unqualified assumption that an endorsement means support of a proposal is of strictly limited validity.

### *Experimental Design*

*Subjects and arrangements.*—One hundred thirty-eight male students walking by the Student Union of the University of Texas served as subjects in the present study. As they passed, they were stopped and invited to sign a petition. The petition concerned a minor campus issue, selected because it represented a proposition toward which students were neither strongly in favor nor strongly opposed. The petition read: "We, the undersigned students of The University of Texas, request that University officials place lights on Littlefield Fountain to add to the beauty of the memorial." The petition carried no previous signatures. The option for the passer-by was to sign or to decline to do so.

### *Experimental Variations*

*Strength of the request.*—In order to measure differences in signing due to the manner in which the request for the endorsement was stated, three pleas were used, each differing in its degree of compellingness. For the strong plea, the experimenter said, "Would you read and sign this petition, please?" A pencil was offered. The request of intermediate strength was, "Would you read and sign this petition?" A pencil was attached to the clip board but was not offered. The weak invitation was, "You don't want to sign this petition, do you?" No pencil was in view. The prediction is that the highest rate of endorsement would be obtained for the strongest request and the lowest rate for the weakest.

*Knowledge of the reactions of others.*—In order to measure the effect on the endorsement rate of representative attitudes toward the proposal, three conditions were set up whereby the passers-by were allowed to become aware of the reactions of others to the petition or were given no indication as to

what others' reactions were. First, the passer-by was asked to read the petition just before a person assisting the experimenter had completed reading it. While the subject was waiting, he had the opportunity to observe the assistant's reaction to the petition. For one third of the passers-by, the assistant subsequently said, "Sure, I'll sign," wrote his name, and departed. For another third, the assistant returned the clip board, saying, "No, I'd rather not," then walked away. Presenting the clip board without providing any opportunity for knowing the reaction of another person served as the third condition. Responses from these three conditions were used as the basis for comparing the endorsement rate when the passer-by was unable to assess representative attitudes with the rates when he knew attitudes to be either favorable or unfavorable. The prediction is that the highest endorsement rate would be obtained when the subject knows that the person preceding him has signed and lowest when he knows that person refused to endorse the proposal.

### Results

*Differences in endorsement rate associated with request.*—The three pleas were evaluated for the frequency of endorsement for each, under the condition where the passer-by had no opportunity to know the reaction of another person. With 16 subjects under each condition, 14 signed when the request was strong, 9 when it was of intermediate strength, and 6 when the request was weak. Data are shown in Table 1. Consistent with the prediction

TABLE 1

Reactions of Subjects to Three Degrees of Strength Used in the Request for Endorsement

<i>Strength of Request</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>Refuse</i>
Strong	14	2
Intermediate	9	7
Weak	6	10
Total	29	19

that the way the request for the support of a proposition is expressed will determine a person's readiness to sign, the  $X^2$  of 8.54 (2df), which is significant beyond the 2 per cent level, shows that the rate of endorsement varied with the strength of the plea. The stronger the plea, the higher the endorsement rate.

*Knowledge of reactions by others.*—Knowledge of the reaction of others was evaluated for the frequency of endorsement produced by knowing either that another person signed the petition or that he refused to do so, using the request-condition of intermediate strength. These data are pre-

sented in Table 2. Of the 15 subjects under each condition, 14 people who were presented the petition just after they had seen another person sign it also endorsed it. When the petition was presented with the passer-by having no opportunity to see the reactions of another person, 8 of the 15 signed. Under the condition that another person was seen to refuse the petition, only 4 of the 15 subjects endorsed it. The  $X^2$  of 18.86 (2df), which is significant at the 1 per cent level, shows that the endorsement rate varied with the

TABLE 2

Reactions of Subjects to Different Behavior of an Assistant—Request of Intermediate Strength

<i>Reactions of Assistant</i>	<i>Reactions of Subjects</i>	
	<i>Sign</i>	<i>Refuse</i>
Sign	14	1
Absent	8	7
Refuse	4	11
Total	26	19

knowledge of the reactions by others. Consistent with the prediction that knowledge of the reactions of others to the petition will influence a person's readiness to endorse it, the rate of endorsement was found to be higher when others were known to have signed and lower when others were known to have refused to sign the petition.

*Combination of strength of the request and knowledge of the reactions of others.*—Results presented thus far show that for the same petition, the rate of endorsement varies with the way the request for support is expressed and with knowledge of the reactions by others to the petition. The rate of endorsement when both of these factors were varied simultaneously is evaluated in this section. The results are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Reactions of Subjects to Different Behavior of an Assistant—Weak and Strong Requests

<i>Reactions of Assistant</i>	<i>Strength of Request</i>					
	<i>Strong</i>		<i>Weak</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Sign</i>	<i>Refuse</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>Refuse</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>Refuse</i>
Sign	15	0	11	4	26	4
Absent	12	3	6	9	18	12
Refuse	6	9	3	12	9	21
Total	33	12	20	25	53	37

The rate for the strong plea, presented in combination with the knowledge that another person signed, is shown in the upper-left corner of Table 3. With this combination of factors, all 15 subjects signed. At the opposite extreme, in the lower-right corner, when the weak plea was presented in combination with the assistant's refusal to endorse, 3 of the 15 subjects signed. Other values are intermediate.

Consistent with the predictions in the introduction, a decrease in the frequency of signing is associated with the two factors taken in combination. Column totals show a decrease in the endorsement rate when there is a decrease in the strength of the plea. This finding is consistent with the results in Table 1. With 45 cases for each condition, there were 33 endorsements for the strong, and 20 for the weak request. The  $X^2$  of 7.76 (1df) is significant at approximately the 1 per cent level. Decreases in frequency of signing associated with the reactions of the assistant are shown in the rows where the totals are 26 when the assistant signed, 18 when no assistant was present, and 9 when the assistant refused. The  $X^2$  of 17.67 (2df) is significant at the 1 per cent level. Finally, the interaction between variables produces an  $X^2$  of 2.84 (4df). This value is not significant. The conclusion, then, is that rate of endorsement associated with the strength of the request is independent from that of knowledge of the reactions to the petition by others. This finding indicates that both factors combine to permit a better prediction than can be had if either is treated separately.

### *Summary*

The purpose of this report is to demonstrate the use of experimental social analysis in studying a common phenomenon. The phenomenon was that of petition-signing. The experiment was conducted in a typical action-setting by asking 138 students passing the Student Union of the University of Texas to sign a petition requesting support for beautifying a campus memorial. Predictions that different rates of endorsement would be forthcoming were made in relation to the strength of the plea, the knowledge of the reactions of others to the proposal, and combinations of these two factors.

Results support predictions. With a standard petition, factors other than the content of the petition were found to influence the rate of endorsement. Whether or not the petition was signed is determined partly by the strength of the request for the endorsement, partly by the knowledge of the reactions of others, and partly by the pattern of combinations for these two factors. Since signing is a joint function of both and the two factors are independent, the adequacy of predicting an individual's readiness to endorse in any concrete setting can be increased by taking both into account.

The findings cast doubt on the validity of the unrestricted assertion that the larger the number of signatures for a petition, the more widespread the

sentiment in favor of the proposed change. In order to interpret signatures on a petition in a manner consistent with social science knowledge, it is mandatory that endorsements be sought under conditions that are as nearly standardized as possible. Only when such conditions are satisfied can it be concluded that an endorsement represents a personal conviction to support the petition. The present experiment has shown how experimental analysis can produce results useful in social engineering by suggesting that petition signatures in themselves are uninterpretable unless the conditions employed in procuring the signatures, the strength of the request, and the background knowledge of the community attitudes toward the request are specified.



# Book Reviews

edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

DAVID A. SHANNON: *The Socialist Party of America*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955. 320 pages. \$4.50.

Shannon has done an admirable job of compressing fifty years of history of the American Socialist Party into a fair, accurate, and eminently readable narrative of 268 pages. His book is in effect a continuation of the story of the earlier days of American socialism, antedating the formation of the party of Gene Debs, and will be better understood in the light of Howard Quint's somewhat earlier book, *The Forging of American Socialism*.

There are a very few statements of events in which I was an actor or close observer which might be corrected or made clearer. For instance, a reader of Shannon's book asks me whether in the Party conflicts of the 30's there was a Progressive caucus. There was not, and I think Shannon means the word to describe a considerable group in the Party of men and women identified neither with the Old Guard nor the Militants, which latter caucus proliferated into still other groups.

The author states that "Thomas withdrew from the New York mayoralty race in 1937 so feeble was his party." The Party was indeed far from strong, but I withdrew after considerable in-

ternal struggle because I was always working for the emergence of a labor or farmer-labor party (not, however, to be controlled by bloc voting of unions), and I thought that out of labor's support of LaGuardia some such party might eventually emerge.

It was always my hope that in some way our Party and its campaign might be a catalytic agent to precipitate a new political alignment. This, rather than the growth of the Socialist Party into a major party, was my great hope.

Shannon, I am glad to see, makes the point that the Party in Debs's day and in its greatest period of growth was a party rather than a sect, that is, it had different regional characteristics and appeals to different groups, ranging from immigrants to millionaires and ministers. Its leaders mostly talked the language of Marx or thought they did, but the Party was not tightly disciplined and was held together by a common aspiration, a common moral indignation, and an immediate program on which it found it relatively easy to unite. The same thing was true before and after 1932. I have been strongly criticized for wanting to take radicals of diverse shades into the Party so long as they owed no superior allegiance to any organized Communist group. Insofar as we followed that policy it worked—until the divisions produced by the Second World War. Our mistake was

believing the Trotskyists when they professed that they had abandoned their caucus.

I was by no means always in full agreement with the Militant Caucus. In general, I supported it (though I did not belong to it) because it wanted an aggressive party, a reasonably inclusive party. I thought that time would tame down certain Marxist ardors—as indeed time did. One of the ironies of the years 1937–41 was the fact that defections were about even out of the Right and the Left (the Old Guard and the Militants) to the Roosevelt ranks, and that in their ranks (notably the original American Labor Party in New York) for a time men and women, including Communists, worked together who had been unable to work together in the Socialist Party! The Roosevelt appeal was the appeal not only of Dr. New Deal but of Dr. Win-the-War.

The adverse effects of the First World War on the Socialist Party were real and are well described by the author. Nevertheless, I always held that Socialists exaggerated them. Unquestionably George Norris in Nebraska and the elder LaFollette in Wisconsin owed their continuing strength, after the worst hysteria had subsided, to the fact that they had opposed the war. The British Labor Party did not suffer because Macdonald and Herbert Morrison and some others of its strongest leaders had opposed the war. It was first the Communist split, then the failure of the effort to build a new party behind LaFollette (in which the Socialist Morris Hillquit was a key figure), and finally Roosevelt, who brought the Party low.

The Second World War was different from the First. My own position on both wars I have told in the last chapter

of my book, *A Socialist's Faith*. I have nothing to add or subtract except to make this general observation: war might be the midwife for the Bolshevik type of revolution but not for democratic socialism in nations already possessed of democratic institutions. Socialist internationalism was real and emotionally powerful before the First World War. It could not, or did not, check the war, and since then its principles have given in practice no guidance more than Christian principles of brotherhood to Christians in working out a concrete program. No democratic socialist party in any nation has grown to strength or come to power primarily as a program dealing with war. Our approach to the Second World War cost the Socialist Party members and strength, but the Social Democratic Federation which boasts that it was the first political group to call America to active participation in the war gained no strength by that call. Those to whom war was the main issue were in duty bound to support Roosevelt.

Shannon records the fact that I got my lowest vote for President in 1944. At that time I was of necessity giving full support to the war but was critical of Roosevelt's and Churchill's approach to peace. I think my speeches of warning and advice in that campaign and after are the speeches with which in retrospect I am most content, however little attention they aroused. And they aroused more attention than would appear from the size of the vote. The history of the American Socialist Party might have been quite different if it could have acted almost wholly on domestic issues, as in the years 1900–14.

Nevertheless, even if there had been no wars and if the Party had made fewer mistakes I doubt that it would have

come to conspicuous power. No "third" party ever has in America, unless like the Republican Party it sprang up rapidly all over the nation and immediately supplanted an existing party like the Whigs. By our Constitution and customs—especially our method of electing the President—we are constrained to be a nation of two mass parties. The important role of minor parties has been as gadflies or—to change the figure—as seedbeds of ideas. And here the American Socialist Party has not failed.

The Party here, more than its affiliates in Europe, suffered because the Marxist forecast was more in error in America than Europe and notably because, to an unanticipated degree, American capitalism and its parties proved flexible. They have accepted the welfare state (partly, perhaps, as the result of two wars) far more gracefully than anyone could have imagined in 1928 when I first ran for President.

During our times of storm and stress we Socialists have been little helped by Europe. The word socialism was defiled by its use by Hitler and Stalin. The German Social Democracy, immediately after the First World War, bungled away its chance to rebuild Germany; and in Britain, Ramsay MacDonald, Socialist, was a less efficient friend of the masses than was Franklin Roosevelt, Democrat, in America.

It is probable that our party was too much involved in theoretical conflict which had more meaning in Europe than here, but it is hard to see how that could have been otherwise, considering that Europe drew us into two world wars and that so large a part of our party was made up of immigrants and their children.

By and large I should agree with Shannon's chapter gloomily entitled "Last Rites and Post Mortem." I do not, however, expect the total disappearance of the Socialist Party. It has something of the tenacity for life of a religious sect. Perhaps if it were more of a sect it would be surer to live on, like the very sectarian Socialist Labor Party. Conceivably it may yet serve, modestly, a useful, educational, and agitational role. Socialism itself as a world-wide force is bound to live on.

While still keeping my membership in the Socialist Party to which I owe so much I have tried lately to organize, not a party, but a kind of Fabian society, called the "Union for Democratic Socialism," in which little-*s* socialists of many sorts may unite to defend socialism from outrageous misrepresentations and to seek a restatement of its message to our times in our country.

Necessarily this highly personal review by an actor in the socialist drama and the book under review is concerned with struggles: successes and failures rather than the mere life of organized socialism. Despite the clashes to which "true believers" must be prone, I cannot speak too warmly of the devotion, the comradeship, the dedication of the Party. Its members found joy in sacrificing for their cause. This I remember more than our mistakes. And I would still bear witness against the evils which called socialism into existence. By no means are all of them ended.

My own backward look, aided by this excellent history, leads me to testify that if I had my life to live over in the years in which I lived it, I should try to avoid certain mistakes but I would do substantially what I did. Despite my failure to do what I hoped, I doubt if otherwise I, Norman Thomas,

could better have served my day and generation.

Norman Thomas  
New York

MAURICE W. LEE: *Economic Fluctuations: An Analysis of Business Cycles and Other Economic Fluctuations*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 633 pages. \$6.00.

"This book is designed for use in an upper division course in business cycles and economic fluctuations" (Preface). Although the author presents no new theory of the business cycle, and no new method of controlling business fluctuations, the text does show that he has covered carefully the vast literature in the field and has organized the material in excellent fashion, so that the student should be able to master the basic essentials of business cycles, business forecasting, and the possibilities of economic stabilization.

After a brief treatment of the usual phases of an orthodox business cycle, there is an excellent chapter dealing with the nine-to-ten-year Juglar Cycle, the forty-month cycle of Kitchin, and the long-wave cycle of Kondratieff. This is followed by the "Three Cycle Schema" of Schumpeter. Although Lee deals fairly with each man and his theoretic system, his own observation is that "there does not appear to be any simple, regular, periodic pattern of these economic fluctuations."

A substantial portion of the text is devoted to national-income analysis, revealing the Keynesian influence which culminated, so far as the United States is concerned, in the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, by which the

federal government accepted the responsibility for maintaining economic stability and full employment. As a means of showing how it carries out this mandate, we have very good chapters on fiscal and monetary policy.

A critical analysis is given of direct controls, such as government price-fixing and rationing. Of this method, the author says: "Direct controls cannot successfully dam the stream for an indefinite period when inadequate fiscal and monetary policies continue to pour a surplus of purchasing power into the economy. . . . Over the long run a stable economy can be enjoyed only through sound fiscal and monetary policies."

One of the best chapters in the book is "Economic Forecasting." Here, the author leaves us in that uncertain world in which we live today. In order to have wise policy, there must be dependable forecasting, but, so far, no one has invented a dependable forecasting system. "The trail toward sound methods of economic forecasting is well littered with the bones of half-right and largely wrong techniques, to say nothing of the bones of those who have tried to use them."

Harlan L. McCracken  
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FREDERICK MAYER and FRANK E. BROWER: *Patterns of a New Philosophy*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 112 pages. \$3.25.

*Patterns of a New Philosophy* combines the efforts of an "internationally known philosopher" and "a noted lecturer and writer" to rehabilitate modern philosophy along naturalistic lines.

Philosophers are urged to abandon both the futile embranglements of modern epistemic problems and the tenderized speculations of "genteel metaphysicians." Whereas the urgency of the times demands an existential concern for moral problems, philosophy remains plagued by a professionalism void of personal involvement and personal commitment. Ultrascholastic and inutile bickerings over epistemic and metaphysical niceties scandalously distract from the crucial and "central problem of man" and from philosophy's opportunity to become the "main integrative subject" by charting and enstating "humane and rational ideals."

Perhaps all except an impenitent few will admit the judiciousness of this criticism. What does not come off so well is the attempt at a constructive program beginning with Chapter 2, "Credo for Our Times." Nothing significantly new emerges and certainly no clearly recognizable pattern. Perhaps the intended pattern becomes dissipated before the grand revue of men and movements which gives this volume the feel of a philosopher's vade mecum.

The sections on references and selected bibliography represent an impressive piece of scholarly apparatus. Therein also lies the clue to the weakness of a book which attempts too much within far too little space at the expense of clarity and consistency. With so little compass in which to attempt so much, the chapter "Values and Literature" (a literary, aesthetic, and moral digest of works ranging from *Babbitt* to Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms*) and the chapter "The Role of the Teacher" (generally banal, and often trifling) represent lost space which might have been put to better

use in validating the metaphysics from which the book derives its high sense of moral optimism.

This vigorous moral optimism appears to be based upon a twin act of "faith in man and in reason," which is motivated and sustained by the conception of "God as the antecedent impulse of creativity . . . and also as the ideal towards which humanity is moving." We are offered the tenuous assurance that even though "All this may be only a dream . . . if the dream is powerful and intense enough it creates its own verification and its own Utopia." All this may indeed be a dream, but hardly of the sort in which one expects naturalists to indulge who have renounced the company of "genteel metaphysicians."

The book contains lively reading, in spots; wise observations, in spots, and interesting generalizations—in spots. What it lacks is philosophical pattern and tautness, leading one to suspect that the philosopher capitulated to the public lecturer.

Frederick H. Ginascol  
University of Texas

HENRY I. WACHTEL: *Security for All and Free Enterprise*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 162 pages. \$3.00.

The author of this fascinating account of the life and work of Josef Popper Lynkeus introduces a distinguished scientist, humanitarian, and philosopher. The main interest for us today, however, lies in Popper's imaginative insight into the needs of man as shown not only in his delightful *Fan-*



*tastes of a Realist*, but in particular in his studies of social problems.

His supreme concern is the security and freedom of the individual; and he conceives it to be the duty of the State or society to extend its care and protection to each and every individual composing it. By such means alone can a person be assured of a happy and useful life, and society advance toward freedom from want, crime, and war.

One becomes conscious of Popper's great faith in God and man when he writes of the possibilities of attaining a truly harmonious life in accord with the teaching of the great Hebrew prophets and his beloved Montaigne, Voltaire, and Goethe. And this is implied in his plan of a guaranteed subsistence for all, so that each may have a sense of economic freedom and security to enjoy life in the fullest measure.

To assure the minimum subsistence, the State would draft its citizens or subjects into its civil service, army, or labor corps; on the other hand, the production of luxuries would be carried out under a free enterprise or competitive system. By this dual method of production, communism would be avoided and an approach made to the present system of government control of certain necessities of life.

One might criticize this idea of a national labor corps as somewhat impractical; yet compulsory service for individual and social welfare may well deserve consideration. The plan, if undertaken in its essence and extended throughout the world, might prove of the greatest value. It would reach much further than our present social security and guaranteed-wage systems. In time it might serve to abolish the extensive inequity in the distribution of

wealth, with its constant tension and bitterness.

Whatever one's views, readers of this book will find it both stimulating and profitable.

Evan L. Lewis  
Marquette University

C. AUBREY SMITH and JIM G. ASHBURNE: *Financial and Administrative Accounting*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 493 pages. \$7.00.

This book is virtually a pioneer in the intermediate accounting field. Most of the books in this area of accounting instruction are written to serve primarily the needs of the student who plans to enter the accounting profession. The authors state in the Preface that "it was not written for the person who contemplates a career in accounting. . . ." There is a definite need for textbooks that present and explain the methods and concepts of accounting so that the nonaccountants may make better use of the products of accounting. This book can be recommended as a terminal accounting course for students majoring in management, finance, marketing, statistics, and other areas of business administration, students who have completed the first year of accounting study.

The text material may be classified into two major divisions, as indicated by the title of the book. The initial section, consisting of nine chapters, is concerned with financial accounting. The presentation in this section follows more closely the pattern found in most intermediate accounting textbooks. The first three chapters recall to the student the importance of the accounting cycle and the periodic summary. In the

next five chapters, fundamental accounting concepts, conventions, and issues are thoroughly explored. Modern trends in statement organization, contemporary reporting, and basic techniques in data analysis are covered adequately.

Chapter 9, on price-level changes, introduces the student to a problem that is real and challenging today. Criticisms of the traditional financial statements are presented, based upon their failure to measure the effects of inflation. Several proposals that have been suggested to meet this challenge are examined.

The second section (Chapters 10-16) departs from the usual subject material found in intermediate accounting instruction. The emphasis in this section is on the needs of the nonaccounting-major students. Particular attention is given to the effective use of accounting data by proper planning and control. The features of organization through which enterprise assets are protected and used most advantageously are stressed throughout this section. Here again, the purpose is to develop informed users of accounting data rather than to train professional accountants. To this end, a substantial part of the material is devoted to a discussion of internal control, cost analysis, and information reports.

The last three chapters present a basic discussion of the accounting procedures either required or acceptable in the determination of taxable income for individuals and small business organizations.

The questions and problems are sufficient in number and in variety to test the students' ability to apply the principles and procedures presented. The repetitive type of problem emphasizing

techniques is at a minimum. Most of the questions require an expression of opinion and are intended to provoke thought.

This book is well organized and the presentation of the subject matter is clear and concise. It is a material contribution to accounting literature in an area of accounting where a definite need has long existed.

Thomas N. Humble  
University of Alabama

EUGENE S. KLISE: *Money and Banking*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Company, 1955. 744 pages. \$5.75.

Instructors of undergraduate money-and-banking courses have an important initial advantage over their colleagues in that the subject of money seems to be of almost universal interest. It therefore has at least a fighting chance to compete favorably against the many other beckoning lures of campus life. Unfortunately, this initial advantage usually vanishes by the end of the first week or two of classes, as the students laboriously struggle through an unnecessarily dull and encyclopedic text that makes as little use as possible of their original motivation.

Equally unfortunate, the volume under review is no noticeable improvement in this regard. It is undoubtedly a competent, informed, and accurate book: the chapters on Federal Reserve policy and bank loans, for instance, are ably written, as are many others. But it is also a tedious book, introduced by over a hundred pages of metallic-money history before the reader gets more than a passing glimpse of modern

deposit money. It is surely poor pedagogy to inform the student on page 1 that demand deposits are our most important form of money, and again on page 13, and then wait until page 113 before taking up demand deposits in any detail at all.

In a similar vein, the crucial chapters on bank-credit expansion and contraction are awkwardly written, and illustrative hypothetical balance sheets and T accounts are not used as frequently throughout the book as this reviewer believes desirable. Those that are used are unexpectedly interjected without any word of introductory explanation regarding the basic concepts of accounting. This will not satisfy either the business administration majors, who could easily and advantageously absorb more balance sheet illustrations, nor the liberal arts majors, who will not understand the ones that are there.

And yet this is not a book which can be dismissed by the prospective adopter without careful and complete perusal, for it compares favorably with most presently used texts. The quality of its writing is certainly as high as that of most of its rivals, and at some points it is better. In brief, the superior students who can doggedly persevere will not find their time wasted, but the remainder of the class will soon likely choose to return to the aforementioned alternative attractions of campus life. In this respect, however, the volume is hardly unique among money-and-banking textbooks.

Laurence S. Ritter  
Michigan State University

LUKE EBERSOLE: *American Society: An Introductory Analysis*. New

York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 510 pages. \$5.50.

According to the author, *American Society* is designed for courses in introductory sociology and general social science, and it may be useful also for courses in the American-studies field. It seeks "... to characterize the major components of our society and to indicate the manner of their functioning," from the perspective of continuity and change. It is intended to provide an understanding of American society, and "... is planned for use by teachers who do not choose to bring their students into sociology by sudden submergence into the depth of sociological abstraction."

The book has four major divisions: "People," "Communities," "Classes," and "Institutions," with an introduction providing "An Approach to American Society," and a conclusion emphasizing "American Society in Process." The division "People" has chapters dealing with population origins, immigrant Americans, American minorities, population composition and distribution, and population growth. The remaining three divisions include such chapters as are usually found under their respective headings.

The advantages of *American Society*, to this reviewer, lie in its length, making it in this respect better suited to the one-semester course than most available texts; in the simplicity of style and ease of reading; in the avoidance of sociological abstractions (if this is considered desirable by teachers); and in its usefulness as a source book on national origins of the American population. The final chapter, "American Society in Process," should be particularly useful, with its classification of the major

factors leading to social change in America.

This reviewer is disturbed, however, by the implications of the author's basic point of view. With regard to the use of the book as an introductory sociology text, if sociology has anything distinctive, it is a body of tested principles and concepts which should assist in the interpretation of society and its functions. Facts are important, but much more important is the need for a conceptual framework for the understanding of facts. The omissions of subject matter and concepts commonly a part of the sociological framework may be logical in terms of the author's point of view, but they are a serious deficiency in terms of what this reviewer thinks should be included in an introductory textbook for sociology or social science.

Robert H. Talbert

Texas Christian University

LEE R. DICE: *Man's Nature and Nature's Man*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955. 329 pages. \$5.00.

As is often the case, the subtitle to this book, *The Ecology of Human Communities*, gives a more accurate idea of its contents than does its more catchy title.

The major thesis of the book is that "man is able to exist only as a member of some community in which associated species of plants and animals supply him with food and other essential supplies and services. Man, in turn, has profound effects upon his plant and animal associates. These interrelations between man and other kinds of organisms are of great significance for human welfare."

This general thesis seems so obviously sound that no one—certainly not this reviewer—would be inclined to question its truth. How this thesis is developed is best indicated by the chapter headings, almost every one of which expresses the "community" idea. This is in line with the ecological viewpoint.

Among the interesting items which are treated in what seems to the reviewer to be a thoroughly sound manner are altruism and egotism, intermarriage among classes and races, competition and communism, economic regulatory mechanisms (aside from supply and demand), preservation of the independence of individuals, the effect of celibacy on hereditary trends, and the interrelations between environment, heredity, and culture.

Since Dice is a biologist, he evidences more than the usual appreciation of hereditary influences. In this connection the reviewer quotes with full approval the following: "Since environmental influences, heredity, and culture all interact to control the evolution and continued existence of each human community, it is foolish to ask which of them is the most important. All are essential, and none can be considered apart from the others. Any change in one produces more or less important changes in each of the others. Culture, however, is able to change more quickly and to a relatively greater degree than either the environment or human heredity. But the influences of environment and of human heredity on every human community are nevertheless of high significance."

The reviewer would take exception to the implication which appears rather consistently that an individual's heredity tends to be either "good" or "bad" and that individual people can

be classed as plus or minus. Dice knows fully as well as the reviewer that Stevenson, Poe, and Beethoven, for example, probably had both bad and good features in their inheritance. Such a statement as "very able individuals occur at times in almost every population" seems, however, to overlook the diverse patterns of ability. Able for what? In the reviewer's opinion, this point is an important one, and very often overlooked. In our talent searches, we too often search for "all-round talent" and overlook and waste a multitude of special talents. In our scholastic culling we tend to think of individuals as necessarily either "good students" or "poor students." The psychological fact that there is some correlation between different abilities does not justify us in wasting those individuals who do not exhibit balanced performance.

The biology of human beings is due to receive a great deal more attention than it has in the past. Dice's book is a welcome contribution.

Roger J. Williams  
University of Texas

KHALIL TOTAH: *Dynamite in the Middle East*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 240 pages. \$3.75.

Palestinian-born Khalil Totah returned to the Middle East in 1952, after an absence of about eight years. *Dynamite in the Middle East* is the account of his rather brief stay in the major cities of Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and the Gaza area, and his reactions to what he saw there. As Burrows says in his Foreword to the volume, Totah writes with "independence

and frankness." Totah also writes with a good deal of presumption. His approach is that of a specialist addressing other specialists, among whom comprehensive discussion is unnecessary. Of the major thoughts exposed in this book, in fact the very reason for the title itself, exposition and demonstration must be found—if they are to be found—elsewhere.

Totah's narrative, were it not for certain flashes to the contrary, could be considered that of a typical American tourist who happened to speak Arabic. There are many pages of description here—of the cities visited, their heritage, tempo and spirit, even of their plumbing facilities. For someone familiar with the area, the narrative will be rewarding. For someone not familiar, however, the description all too often presumes too much.

Yet the volume is most interesting, even entertaining. It reflects learning and spirit. The author's observations range from historical comparisons to not-quite-confident hopes for the Arab future. Certain aspects of the frustrations of the area seem to have crept into the book, almost by osmosis. There is much criticism—gentle as well as bitter—of the United States, the United Nations, the "colonial powers," the Zionists, even the Arabs. They all come in for verbal lashings. Nevertheless, something vital is missing, or at least unexpressed. There are no satisfactorily established, attainable norms to which the author would have the castigated conform.

Basically, the author seems to find himself unable fully to accept the current impact of the past. He implicitly avers, and apparently believes with a great deal of feeling, that Israel is a monstrous mistake. There are times



when he borders on being a Cato, suggesting to the world: "*Israel delenda est.*"

Perhaps it is unfair to expect of this volume more than the author intended, but the book, itself, evokes the wish that what lurks submerged had been brought to the surface, that the author had written more in keeping with the ability suggested by the present effort.

John A. Power  
Bethesda, Maryland

EDWARD P. CRONAN: *The Dignity of the Human Person*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 207 pages. \$3.00.

Cronan has written a thorough and precise review of the Thomistic doctrine of man. The study is purely philosophical rather than theological, and its concern is to demonstrate the dependence of man upon God not as a postulate of faith, but as a conclusion of metaphysical science.

Beginning with a distinction between the concepts of "person" and "personality," the author, following the classical Western definition of man, establishes rationality as the specific difference of man and as that which justifies the use of the term "person" in reference to the human individual. It is also that factor which is of greatest importance in the development of the personality. The concept of dignity is examined ontologically and is equated with completeness in being, though this "completeness" in contingent existents is relative to absolute being, the ultimate criterion of all evaluations of creatures. Man is related to the absolute perfection of God by participation

and likeness, the reflections of God in man.

Man is, in turn, a "proximate god" for all lesser creatures, including them within himself by his knowledge of them and by exercising control over them. It is this which constitutes the peculiar dignity of man above the rest of creation. His dignity goes beyond this, however, by virtue of his relation to his Creator. He is the *imago Dei* by his rational nature and by his imitation of God in operation. "This representation, as it were of the nature and activity of God upon earth, constitutes man in a worth and dignity which from its very nature is evidently comparable and measurable only by the standard and rule which is the infinite God Himself, and man's dignity is something of an incarnation of the Creator in creation, in man's measure, but with a divine model."

It is the final chapter which will have the greatest interest for the social scientist. In it, on the basis of the definition of generic man which has gone before, Cronan examines the relation of the individual to society and social life, which are seen to be not merely constitutive of human nature, but essential to it. "Men 'make' or 'break' themselves and others by their mode of human or non-human living among others, or even by their attempts *not* to live among others."

Cronan's work is a brilliant and definitive evaluation of man from the point of view of realistic philosophy. The writing is careful and lucid, but it must be expected that readers who are unfamiliar with the language of scholastic philosophy will experience some difficulty.

Thomas J. Talley  
Denton, Texas

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and BERNICE L. NEUGARTEN: *American Indian and White Children: A Sociopsychological Investigation*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955. 335 pages. \$5.00.

A comparative study of six American Indian tribes and a Midwest white community, this work gives empirical (statistical) foundation to several current assumptions regarding child behavior. Two crucial chapters are devoted to testing Piaget's hypothesis that in "civilized" societies "moral constraint" weakens and freedom (autonomy) emerges as the child grows older, whereas in "primitive" cultures the reverse is true. Among Indians, the "rules of the game" become more rigid as the child grows older and is initiated into adult society. Piaget's hypothesis was partially verified: Midwestern adolescents do show more moral autonomy than Indians of the same age.

In addition to exploring some of Piaget's basic concepts, the authors collect and analyze data from an "Emotional Response Test" and a "Moral Ideology Test." Noting that white children are more under the control of conscience than are the Indian, they say: "There is no need [for the Indian] to internalize values because the group works as a unit . . . in restraining . . . the individual. There is little conflict in values, and the individual himself does not need to serve as judge of his own behavior." The Indian is much more under the control of the larger community than is the white; Indian children are often punished by nonfamily members. (With the current public interest in juvenile problems, it might be well to investigate the decline of non-

family discipline as a cause of delinquency.)

The study shows that the Midwest father has a smaller role in rearing his children than does the father in any of the other societies considered. Generally, there is less difference between the sexes in the Indian than in the white-child culture. Midwest children place much more emphasis on individual achievement and "doing what one pleases," less upon property, and less upon work explicitly connected with the home than do Indian children.

Unfortunately the authors draw few generalizations from their data, and they seem reluctant to state any decisive conclusions. While the specialist will find useful statistical material here, for the general student the book is of limited value.

Elwin H. Powell  
University of Tulsa

LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR: *Analytical Sociology: Social Situations and Social Problems*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 794 pages. \$6.00.

In the Preface to his *Situational Analysis*, published in 1948, Carr by implication divided introductory texts in sociology into those which emphasize *reading about* and those which emphasize *looking at* group phenomena. *Situational Analysis* was heralded as a break with the dominant reading tradition.

For better or for worse, the "readers" have withstood Carr's early assault rather well. If anything, they have gained strength. In recent years, several books of readings, designed for introductory courses, have been published,

and the integrated "text with readings" has made its appearance. Indeed, one of the better examples of the latter type of textbook was prepared by several members of his own department, which suggests that he may be a prophet without honor.

Be that as it may, Carr has returned to the attack with his *Analytical Sociology*. He insists once again that an introductory sociology text should lead to "knowledge of acquaintance" rather than "knowledge about." To accomplish this goal, *Analytical Sociology* differs from the usual text in the field in two important respects: (1) it is organized around—or at least Book I is—the concept of social situations, and (2) each chapter in Book I concludes with a section entitled "The Proof," which is an "observational project" (or projects) for students to undertake.

Book I contains the topics ordinarily covered in a principles text, and Book II contains those topics ordinarily covered in a social-problems text. For some reason the observational projects are dropped in Book II. This is disconcerting, for surely the approach has as much merit for the study of social problems as it does for the study of principles. It may be that Carr's contention that Book II is value-laden, whereas Book I is value-free, has something to do with this. Actually, this distinction is not maintained very well, and it is of course doubtful that it can be.

Book II is distinguished from the ordinary run of social-problems texts by a conscious, sophisticated attempt to resolve the problem of value in relation to social problems. Carr's resolution of the problem is summed up in these words: "... viewed empirically man's

ultimate value in this world is nothing other than the value of the human personality itself." He believes, with Myrdal, that sociologists should make their value commitments explicit, and he finds—not surprisingly—that what Myrdal called the American Creed is a good set of value commitments. The crucial question he suggests is, "Why do institutions fail to meet such demands?" Book II attempts to answer this question, and the related, but implicit, question of the degree to which American social institutions fail to meet these demands.

Whether the teacher a "reader" or a "looker" be, he will find this text worthy of consideration. It is well organized and well written. The style should be particularly appealing to students; some may discover that *dull* and *textbook* are after all two words. Those teachers who have a six-hour principles-and-problems introductory sequence in sociology and who would like to have a single text for it are likely to find that Carr's book has no serious rival.

H. J. Friedsam  
North Texas State College

FRED COTTRELL: *Energy and Society: The Relation between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 330 pages. \$6.00.

It is the thesis of this book that technology is the dynamic force by which all social development is actuated. As the author puts it, "... the energy available to man limits what he *can* do and influences what he *will* do." Thus the significant truth about modern

Western society is that it is a "high-energy system." Hence the greater part of the book is devoted to contrasting analyses of societies founded upon "low-energy converters" (viz., plants and animals) and of industrial society with its mechanical "high-energy converters."

Not that energy is the only significant social fact. The author clearly recognizes and discusses at length the impediments which institutional traditions oppose to technological development, even while taking the credit for such development as has already occurred. Thus he remarks in one place that "a good deal of what has passed for economics rests upon the assumption that British experience with high-energy converters sets the only pattern for their efficient use," and in another he says that both in the Western world and in the USSR prevailing ideologies owe their extraordinary grip on the minds of their communities to the actualities of the technological revolution which each is presumed to have brought about.

It would be easy to quarrel with Cottrell over his fixation on energy and his treatment of energy-conversion as the whole of the tool-using process. Obviously what Erich Zimmermann has long been saying of natural resources is also true of energy, namely, that it can be said to exist only within the limits of human knowledge and skill at any given time and place. It is the latter with which we are concerned in the study of society. By focusing attention upon energy as a figment of nature and energy-conversion as a natural process, Cottrell diverts attention—his own, as well as ours—from the process by which knowledge grows and skill develops, and by which accordingly "en-

ergy converters" are brought into existence in any society.

One of the best features of the book is its treatment of the impact of technological development upon social organization. But here also the energy fixation blinds Cottrell to what Veblen called "the cultural incidence of the machine process." Thus, for example, he does not even mention the invention of printing from movable type, and shows little awareness of the significance of the secularization of the Western mind—of which his own book is a magnificent example.

But these are details. What is most important is that a professor of government and sociology (at Ohio's Miami University) should be thinking so realistically about the forces at work in industrial society, and that McGraw-Hill should think it worth while to publish such a book.

C. E. Ayres  
University of Texas

EDWARD YOUNGER: *John A. Kasson: Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley*. Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955. 450 pages.

The value to historians of scholarly biographies of secondary figures is again apparent from a reading of this carefully done life of John Kasson. Based to a large extent upon manuscript sources and newspaper files, this book reveals much of the inner workings of machine politics and political maneuvering, particularly in Iowa, as well as some of the important sidelights of American diplomacy in the two or three decades after the Civil War. Of some interest is the extent to which the

Post Office Department conducted its own diplomatic arrangements with other countries to obtain postal agreements. The questions which have existed with respect to the relationship between the commissioners to the Berlin Conference of 1889 are pretty well cleared up.

As the author indicates, Kasson has become almost a forgotten figure. And yet he served in a number of ways to round out a distinguished, if not particularly great, public career. Three terms in the Iowa legislature, six terms in Congress, First Assistant Postmaster General, laying the groundwork for the International Postal Union, negotiating postal agreements, minister to Austria-Hungary and Germany, representative of the United States to the Berlin conference on Africa in 1884 and that on Somoa in 1889, member of the British-American High Commission of 1898 which attempted to settle the Alaska boundary dispute, and Special Commissioner to negotiate reciprocity agreements under the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897—all of these posts and responsibilities reveal that Kasson was not an obscure figure.

Always, it seems, others of lesser caliber rose to greater heights than Kasson. Although the author does not dwell upon the reason for this, it may be noted that Kasson was not the hearty extrovert type; he did not stoop to the low tricks of some of his contemporaries, but neither did he appear ready to sacrifice himself for principle. Like many others in public life of the time, he fell into the trap between the machine politicians and the reformers without being precisely identified with either.

Younger treats with dignity and restraint the many personal elements in-

involved in Kasson's relations with other politicians and diplomats, and the embarrassing divorce action brought by his wife. The style is very readable. The index is more than adequate.

Kasson deserves a full-length biography, and the author has resurrected his memory and accomplishments in considerable detail. Without attempting to gloss over Kasson's shortcomings Younger has presented a realistic picture of much of America between the Civil War and the end of the century.

O. A. Hilton

Oklahoma A. & M. College

ELLIOTT ROBERTS: *One River—Seven States: TVA-State Relations in the Development of the Tennessee River*. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1955. 100 pages. \$1.50.

One of the features of TVA experience which has been most praised is its effort to co-operate with and to use the "grass roots" governmental institutions of the region in implementing its program. In this study, Roberts supplies a friendly corrective to the sometimes uncritical adulation the TVA has received for this achievement. His findings are that there has actually been comparatively little sharing of responsibility for TVA goals with regional institutions.

In part, Roberts came to this conclusion because he did not look in the right places. He confined his study to the river programs—navigation, flood control, and power—and did not look at soil conservation, regional planning, recreation, forestry, and other develop-



ment programs where the most striking instances of joint action have occurred. In the second place, he limited his attention to the state level, thereby eliminating any consideration of the very important municipal forms of co-operation.

What Roberts does is to take ten cases of TVA activity, drawn from the three river programs, in which state co-operation might conceivably have been enlisted, and see to what extent use was actually made of state assistance. The pattern he finds in these ten cases is "not one of partnership, nor of continuing interaction between levels of government . . . nor of shared responsibility. It is a pattern of firm federal control of basic programs under accountability to the Executive and the Congress, with intermittent attempts to make common cause with state agencies concerning fringe issues."

Roberts does not regard the TVA as particularly blameworthy for this result. In fact, he thinks it was largely inevitable. What the TVA put into its river programs were primarily two things: "large blocks of capital and large amounts of technical and managerial skill. The states could make a major contribution to neither of these." The fact that in twenty years the TVA, with the best will in the world, was unable to develop any organic ties with the states in carrying out its river programs should help to make some facts of life clear about our federal system.

C. Herman Pritchett  
*University of Chicago*

AUSTIN GRIMSHAW: *Problems of the Independent Businessman*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 403 pages. \$6.50.

This book does not contain text material. It is a book of cases concerning small business establishments. After the plea for small business in Part I, twenty-five comprehensive cases are presented in Part II. The cases describe the major policy-problems encountered by owner-managers of small business.

The cases are grouped by United States Bureau of Census categories as follows: retail trade, wholesale trade, service industries, manufacturing, mining and quarrying, contract construction, transportation, communication and other public utilities, finance, insurance, and real estate. In general, the cases have a common structural core. A history of the firm under discussion is presented, along with personality features of the owner-manager and pertinent financial statements. One or more rather obvious problems requiring decision and action appear in each case.

In addition to the structural core of the cases, considerable scope of content appears in each one. Case situations cover enterprises not yet launched to businesses which have been operating for half a century. Some firms are near failure or furnish a marginal living to owners. Other establishments are quite successful. In each situation, logical analysis shows that the small businessman's final policy-formulation must be based on an intelligent combination of product, marketing, production, and financial and organizational considerations.

The author's stated purpose is to provide material for students of business administration. Such comprehensive cases as appear in this book are a welcome addition to the case literature in the management field. The balance between qualitative considerations and quantitative data provides realistic situ-

ations for analysis, problem-solving, and decision-making. Background statistics in Part III of the book provide useful sources for general business indicators, population, business failures, and financial ratios for many lines of business activity.

Since this book does not contain text material, students exploring the cases should have some academic background or practical experience. For a university course in small business, it is an ideal casebook. The cases would also be of excellent use in the many small business seminars that are offered in extension division and adult-education areas.

John F. Mee  
Indiana University

GALO PLAZA: *Problems of Democracy in Latin America*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 88 pages. \$2.50.

Nine Latin-American countries are larger than Ecuador, ten smaller; seven have more population, twelve less. In this nation in the middle of the world, with its range of temperature from torrid to eternal snow and its racial composition one-third white, one-third mestizo, and one-third Indian, the author sees a laboratory where democracy has worked and can therefore be presumed to be workable in all of Latin America.

Galo Plaza's collection of lectures at Chapel Hill is a refreshing addition to publications on Latin-American politics. He combines the "spiritual" approach of the Latin American with an understanding of the pragmatic realism of the Anglo political scientist. Uniting philosophy and practicality, he lends authority to his observations by refer-

ence to his own experience as Ecuadorian president from 1948 to 1952.

Despite underlying common interests, pointed out by the author, there are differences between the United States and Latin America. These mostly revolve around philosophy and attitude, but there is one practical point: "We [Latins] have a long tradition of international relations; we are not new at the game as you are. . . ." This Latin experience and know-how, says Galo Plaza, may come in handy for the entire hemisphere "during these trying times when fundamental matters are at stake."

The former President is at his best in his first lecture, "North and South Americans—A Comparison" and when he discusses his own experiences under the heading, "Ecuador—An Experiment in Democracy." His third presentation, "Democracy in Latin America—Past and Present," is weakened by extensive quotations from speeches made at the Tenth Inter-American Conference held at Caracas. Interestingly, he chooses the talks of the Guatemalan and Bolivian foreign ministers to dwell upon, both of whom were under fire at the conference for recent "nondemocratic" developments in their countries.

The most serious fault of the author is the failure to give his own definition of democracy. He still seems to think of the system as something allowed to happen in a country (Ecuador) by a democratic president (such as himself) rather than as a practice rooted in the institutions of a nation. He makes no reference to established political parties, free and regular elections, an observed constitution, and responsible local government. He further confuses the issue by describing the socioeconomic revolution in Mexico as having

produced a "deep-rooted democratic way of government."

Galo Plaza is this country's best example of a foreign student who made good on his return home. With more Latin leaders of his type, the problems of Latin America, democratic and other, will be more easily resolved.

Joe W. Neal  
University of Texas

GEORGE D. SPINDLER: *Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation*. Vol. 5. Berkeley, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, 1955. 272 pages. \$3.50.

This study was based upon field research conducted during the summers of 1948, 1949, 1950, and 1952 among the Menomini Indians of northern Wisconsin. This tribe was selected because of some three hundred years of contact with Europeans. Among the Menomini, Spindler found "a continuum of sociocultural adaptation" which ranged from a "native-oriented group" to a sociopolitical reservation elite "who approach most closely a middle American culture type." Ranged between these extremes, Spindler recognized three other groups: Peyote Cult Group, Transitionals, and Lower Status Acculturated. As a control group, he used a number of white men who had married Indian women and were living on the reservation.

Spindler cites Hallowell's Ojibway studies, wherein three groups "impressionistically" recognized became validated by the research. In this case, however, the Ojibway groups resided in distinct geographic areas and each was accordingly unique insofar as its prox-

imity to Europeans was concerned—a direct factor in their respective degrees of acculturation. The Menomini were specifically chosen as a check on this aspect since the tribe had remained relatively concentrated within its reservation. Seeking to make his distinguishing criteria of the groups more explicit, Spindler looked for a more sound basis on which to test critically the existence of an acculturation continuum.

He isolated two variables: (1) a list of twenty-four items denoting cultural and socioeconomic position, and (2) Rorschach protocols. For each variable, he used the identical sample of sixty-eight individuals selected from among the hypothecated groups. Thus, Spindler worked from these groups to an analysis of individual representatives of each. He found that there was an acculturation continuum and that there was a correlation between an individual's position on this continuum and his personality (insofar as this could be determined by the Rorschach protocol).

Although a summary of Spindler's findings is presented in a diagram (as well as elsewhere in discussion form), a somewhat more complex diagram might have been used to advantage. A reader, carefully considering Spindler's data, might be expected to anticipate certain of these additional correlations. On the other hand, it is preferable that the actual researcher present such material as explicitly as possible.

While the control group did not constitute a prime area of the research, it is interesting, as another phase of acculturation, to note Spindler's conclusions regarding this group: "Analysis of differences exhibited by the white control group in comparisons with the Menomini categories revealed that the personnel within it are psychologically

distinct from the native-oriented group, and further, that they share some of the distinguishing characteristics with all other Menomini categories. It was also concluded that the whites exhibit relatively less frequent signs of psychological disorganization than do the Peyotists. And finally, it was concluded that the internal psychological heterogeneity of this control group—apparently a function of variety in origin, experience, and social identifications—precluded significant group differences from the transitional, lower-status, or elite acculturated categories; the most consistent trend exhibited within this group was toward a psychological disorganization paralleling, to some extent, that exhibited by the intermediate Menomini categories in varying degrees; this was probably owing to parallel processes in social and cultural dislocation."

Charles H. Lange  
University of Texas

H. J. BONDA: *Goods Currencies*. London, English Universities Press, Ltd., n.d. 68 pages. 7s.6d.

Despite its title this monetary essay by a Dutch international businessman has nothing to do with commodity currency plans, such as that made famous by Irving Fisher, nor with commodity-reserve currency of the sort advocated by Benjamin Graham. Rather it proposes paradoxically to achieve true multilateralization of world trade by a new form of currency controls in international transactions, which could only add to the complexities and uncertainties of business and perpetuate official bureaucracies. It is ironical that the English edition (the translation was

completed in 1953) reaches us at just the time when the World Fund is telling us of the "substantial degree of multilateralism" which has been achieved in recent years.

By "goods currency" Bonda means the currency of a country which has been acquired by a foreign seller of goods or services and which, under his plan, would have to be spent within a stated short time, say one year, on goods or services for sale to foreigners. If not so spent, it would become worthless at the end of the year. The term "goods" in this context means any transaction entering into the balance of international payments except capital movements. Demand and supply in current transactions would determine the value of each country's goods currency. There would be no par values, no fixed rates of exchange. The author believes that goods currencies would not be allowed to expire; rather, if not used by the original acquirer or someone else in his country to buy goods or services from the issuing country, it would be used by someone in a third country. Goods currencies would be traded in the exchange markets everywhere.

Bonda assumes that his system, if adopted, would be adopted by all countries; at least he does not discuss a partial geographic adoption. What role gold would play is simply left to the imagination. Presumably the complexities above referred to would be introduced where none today exist, as in the USA. Imagine Uncle Sam issuing currency having a one-year life measured from the date of notification of a transaction to the central bureaucracy to which banks would report matching international financial transactions!

In goods-currency countries the bu-

reaucracy, Bonda expects, would control open and concealed capital exports, would even check "the prices mentioned on the invoices." Banks would be burdened with "registering and negotiating the goods currencies created." At the Library of Congress *Goods Currencies* will be added to the long literature of monetary panaceas, but few persons will consult it.

Herbert Bratter  
Washington, D.C.

JAMES A. QUINN: *Urban Sociology*, New York, American Book Company, 1955. 534 pages. \$5.25.

The rapidly growing body of information and theories regarding cities and urbanism has now become so large that it cannot be encompassed, even in summary form, in a textbook for a course in urban sociology. The author of the text is forced to make some kind of choice as to what he will try to cover in his book. Thus, the texts now being released tend to take a certain point of view or to designate the area to be covered. These texts are not just better or worse versions of the same material, as tended to be the case a few years ago; they differ from each other in point of view and in content.

This trend is quite evident in Quinn's book. His point of view and purpose are well stated in the Preface. "Today's student of the urban community, whether or not he is to become a professional sociologist, will one day assume responsibility for the complex urban society of which he is a member. If this book provides him with information and tools for carrying that responsibility, the author will have accomplished his purpose." In keeping with this purpose, the author has pro-

duced a text which differs about as much from the usual text of the past as a text for a course on marriage differs from one for a course on the family as a social institution.

The book consists of just two parts, Part I, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY, is designed, apparently, to give the student a basic understanding of the nature of the city. As might be expected, coming from Quinn, it is very heavily weighted with ecological material and short on material relative to the city as a human community. This is compensated for, to a degree, by two chapters which discuss urbanized social relations and smaller social worlds within the city.

Part II, INSTITUTIONS AND PROBLEMS, is a substitute for the section found in most texts on urban institutions, except that the approach is very different. Each of its nine chapters is devoted to one of the major social institutions, with housing and city-planning included as "institutions." However, instead of giving a sociological analysis of the urban institution, the emphasis in each case is on the problems related to that institution in the contemporary American city. In most cases some general or background material is given to supplement the data presented in Part I.

The reviewer has no criticism of the purpose or approach of this part of the book. However, the contrast between Part I and Part II is so great that the reader almost feels as if he has changed books. Also the criteria for selecting problems to be included and the procedure for dealing with them do not seem to be very standardized. For example, the chapter on housing seems very much "down to earth," with practical information on various kinds of



housing programs. The following chapter on education and schools, however, places emphasis on the educational needs of the urbanite, with relatively little data on schools as they are or on programs for improving them. These chapters seem to the reviewer to be, to some extent, a series of essays in which the author wrote on what interested him about each major social institution in the urban setting. As such, each may be interesting and good, as far as it goes, but the set does not constitute a very comprehensive or adequate treatment of the problems of the major social institutions in the urban setting. Even so, the reviewer guesses that the material in these chapters is very similar to what many teachers have been using in class lectures and so it is all to the good to have it in print.

Some departments of sociology are now offering courses in fields such as marriage and social problems as general cultural courses, with no sociology prerequisite required. It strikes the reviewer that, with this text, a course in urbanism might be offered similarly. Otherwise, those interested in the approach represented by the book might well consider whether the time has now arrived for offering two or more courses in the urban field.

Harlow W. Gilmore  
Tulane University

JOSEPH FRANK: *The Levellers: A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats: John Lilburne, Richard Overton and William Walwyn*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 345 pages. \$5.00.

S. MACCOBY: *English Radicalism 1762-1785*. London, George Allen

and Unwin (American distributors, Macmillan Company), 1955. 535 pages. \$10.25.

These two works are significant contributions to the background literature on the development of left-wing political parties and theories in England. Frank's book deals primarily with the writings of three of the leaders of the Leveller movement and, less specifically, with a history of the movement in general. Basing his work on a careful study of contemporary pamphlet material, the author re-creates the environment in which the Levellers lived and against which they reacted. Their aims and aspirations have a certain modern ring and, as the author notes, have an affinity with the discussions regarding the scope of Congressional investigatorial power in the United States in 1955. Although the movement was too advanced for its time, and was frustrated by the political realities and forces with which it had to deal, the author sees in it the embryonic beginning of that democratic movement which was to come to fruition in the English constitutional monarchy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Specifically, the party contributed to the democratic cause the element of optimism in regard to man's potential goodness, of secularism expressing itself in religious toleration, of rationalism manifesting itself in a belief in the educability of all men, and lastly of pragmatism, which held that the test of the worth of institutions was their workability. We have here a judicious evaluation of the Levellers and their influence, one which will prove of value to students of the politics and literature of the period.

Maccoby, already in the debt of

scholars by his three previous volumes on English radicalism from 1832 to 1914, deals in his present book with the development of the radical opposition to the policies and government of George III. The period covered, 1762-85, was one of turmoil and uncertainty in England, and the history of the tactics and policies of His Majesty's not-too-loyal Opposition is a colorful and exciting one. The author's work is a chronological treatment, based on the popular pamphlet and periodical literature which appeared under the auspices of the antigovernment groups. He relates this material to the economic conditions of the age and demonstrates the close interrelationship of the opposition program with the economic situation of the common man. In addition he devotes specialized chapters to a treatment of radicalism and the Church, tensions between landlords and tenants, and workers and employers, and to the philanthropic movement for the improvement of the condition of slaves and of the poor. These chapters spotlight certain pressing problems and attitudes of the time and constitute valuable supplements to the chronological story. The author demonstrates a thorough knowledge of contemporary sources, many of which have never been adequately investigated before. The mass of the pamphlet material, as well as the extensive private collections consulted, makes this a work of high scholarship and one which goes far to illuminate the dark corners out of which later English radicalism evolved. Many standard interpretations of the period will have to be reconsidered in view of the new material which MacCoby has uncovered. Of special interest to American scholars is the light which is thrown on the state of public opinion

in England during the American Revolution and the effect which it had upon the prosecution of the war. MacCoby indicates that the American patriots were in some cases seriously misled as to British public feeling toward the Revolution, especially in its early stages, with unfortunate results for both parties concerned.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

C. J. FRIEDRICH (ed.): *Totalitarianism*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. 386 pages. \$4.00.

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference held by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston in March, 1953, which was attended by over forty leading scholars. Using the interdisciplinary approach so popular in the United States at the present time, they attempted to analyze the phenomenon of totalitarianism.

As is often the case in such collective studies, the participants disagree on their definitions—though all would agree to include Nazism and communism. Timasheff defines totalitarianism as the unlimited extension of state function (which would include any socialist state); the late Gurian talks of a "secularized religion"; and Friedrich's totalitarian "system" consists of five elements: a single party, an official all-inclusive ideology, a monopoly of the control of armed forces and of the mass media of communications, and a system of terroristic police control. Ambassador Kennan, on the other hand, frankly says that there is no readily available abstract definition.

Throughout the book there is a heavy emphasis on ideology—in fact, to this reviewer it would seem that not enough

attention is given to the cathartic role of leadership in totalitarian states. Kennan touches upon it briefly in his discourse on the problem of succession.

To German specialists two able analyses will be of interest. J. P. Nettl's case study of East Germany clearly shows that the economics of communism may be quite different from its politics, while Frank Littell attempts to show through a case study of religious opposition to Hitler that only a strong, dogmatic counterideology can lay the groundwork for a disciplined opposition to totalitarianism.

Other interesting essays include two points of view on the role of science in a dictatorship and two psychological studies of the "authoritarian personality," though many will question the causal effect between the individual personality and a political system.

The volume closes with a brilliant analysis on the future of totalitarianism by Paul Kecskemetis, an analysis that is fruitful reading in case of both conflict and coexistence. One of Kecskemetis' theses is that this is the most unrevolutionary of all epochs—the masses do not want to revolt. (The last peacetime revolt was in 1848.) Another is that democracy today is relatively less threatened by authoritarian *coup d'états* than before 1939. Third, communist parties are today unrevolutionary; they are parties of *coup d'état* who take over only *after* they have seized control of all decisive power-positions in the state. And finally, there is little hope of the Soviet dictatorship being overturned "from below"—we must not underestimate the stability of totalitarian regimes. Only in the problem of succession is there likely to be survival difficulties for a totalitarian state.

A reading of this book suggests a number of topics on which further research is needed, using perhaps the large amount of documentary materials in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Friedrich, in this connection, praises the Munich institute of contemporary history, saying that similar centers ought to be established in Italy and Japan so that scholars could study further the cataclysmic events that have brought so much sorrow and misery to millions of our contemporaries.

Charles R. Foster  
Indiana University

C. A. COULSON: *Science and Christian Belief*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 127 pages. \$2.50.

This little book is based on the McNair Lectures for 1954. Coulson adopts a form of what may be called the multiple-aspect theory of reality. Religion is regarded as a response to a total situation, science, a method of response to a part of this situation. As such, science has a partially religious character. The general presentation of this point of view is carried out in an elementary way. The level of argument may be illustrated by the author's use of an analogy of different plans and elevations, all relating to the same building. The unsatisfying nature of this and like analogies is apparent when one considers that unless the architect was unusually careless, or insane, and the building therefore unconstructable, it would be possible to describe exactly and unambiguously the relationships between the different drawings. In the fields considered by Coulson, no such process is yet possible. We do not even

know in theory whether the relating can be done. Coulson gets near the interesting kind of problem when he considers the theological implications of the distinction between the "non-objectivisable-I" and the "objectivisable-me," to use Herbert Dingle's terminology. Unhappily, about the former almost nothing can be said, in spite of the existentialists. Regarding the objectivisable-me, Coulson says that science has much to say about the me-God relationship. As to what science has to say, he gives a quotation each from C. G. Jung and Bertrand Russell.

The scientific world is beginning to recover from the shock of finding that numerous eminent men of science have religious beliefs. The discovering of individual instances of the phenomenon has long ceased to be so rare that each such case calls for a book. Deep, original, brilliant books are still greatly needed in this field, as in any other. Coulson has a real sense of devotion to his theory of reality and great abilities as a theoretical physicist. He has, however, produced a book burdened with quotations; it is not the work that one hopes for or expects.

C. Evelyn Hutchinson  
Yale University

*Justice Enslaved. A Collection of Documents on the Abuse of Justice for Political Ends.* The Hague, International Commission of Jurists, 1955. 535 pages.

Although the present volume does not reveal anything that is not known already about the notorious communist abuse of justice for political ends, it is nevertheless a most useful contribution to the study of the practical application

of what the communist regimes call "the socialist legality." Well over six hundred documents have been collected to show to what depth the practice of law has sunk behind the Iron Curtain and to what a shocking extent the original conception of *justitia* has been distorted by the masters of Soviet Russia and the "people's democracies." Included are quotations from constitutions, penal codes, and various decrees and regulations; excerpts from statements by official Soviet and satellite spokesmen and from articles by communist authorities on law; judgments rendered by Soviet and satellite courts; and numerous certified depositions of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain who have personally experienced the "benefaction" of communist justice. The grim uniformity which permeates all these documents, whether they come from Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, or any other of Moscow's satellites, leaves no doubt whatsoever that the Communists mean exactly what they say about law and courts being major weapons in a merciless class struggle.

Edward Taborsky  
University of Texas

IRWIN M. STELZER: *Selected Antitrust Cases: Landmark Decisions in Federal Antitrust.* Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 210 pages. \$3.50.

This book should meet a need felt by many teachers for a short casebook on antitrust. It contains a well-selected group of cases which will show the student both the historical development of the attitude of the courts and the recent trends in interpretation. The three longest parts, "Proprietary Com-

binations and Monopoly," "Loose-Knit Confederations," and "Trade Practices," are followed by shorter sections—"Legal Monopolies under Federal Antitrust" and "Foreign Commerce and International Agreements." Each chapter has a short introduction, and the chief substantive provisions of the outstanding statutes are given in an appendix.

Emmette S. Redford  
University of Texas

M. B. SCHNAPPER: *Grand Old Party, The First Hundred Years of the Republican Party, A Pictorial History*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. 520 pages. \$6.00.

*Grand Old Party*, as its subtitle indicates, is a pictorial history of the Republican Party from its inception in 1854 until the Eisenhower administration. It consists of a well-selected and comprehensive collection of reproductions of contemporary prints, lithographs, woodcuts, engravings, posters, photographs, cartoons, et cetera, with ample explanations under each illustration. Assistance was received from many persons, historical societies, and museums, and from the Republican National Committee, though the book was prepared independently of the Republican party.

O. Douglas Weeks  
University of Texas

## Other Books Received

March, 1956

Arbingast, Stanley A.: *Texas Resources and Industries: Selected Maps of*

*Distribution*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 42 pages. \$1.00.

Bellot, H. Hale: *The Creighton Lecture in History 1954: Woodrow Wilson*. London, University of London, The Athlone Press. (Distributed in U.S.A. by John de Graff, Inc., New York, 1955). 22 pages. \$.50.

*Bill Drafting Manual for the Kentucky General Assembly*. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1955. 40 pages.

Broom, Leonard, and Philip Selznick: *Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings*. Evanston, Illinois, Row Peterson and Company, 1955. 660 pages.

*Bulletin of the University of Georgia: Summary of Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government, January-February, 1955*. Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia, Institute of Law and Government, School of Law, 1955. 46 pages. \$1.00.

Bureau of Elementary Curriculum Development: *The Spelling Program: Grades 7, 8, and 9*. Albany, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, New York State Education Department, 1954. 27 pages.

Cattell, David T.: *Communism and the Spanish War*. Vol. 4. Berkeley, University of California Press, University of California Publications in International Relations, 1955. 290 pages.

*Charitbook of Texas Business, 1955-1956*. 4th ed., Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 80 pages. \$2.00.



- Current Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1: *Urban Sociology* (a trend report and bibliography). Paris, UNESCO, 1955. 52 pages. \$1.00.
- Dauer, Manning J., and William C. Havard: *The Florida Constitution of 1885—A Critique*. Reprinted from *University of Florida Law Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Spring), 1955. Gainesville, Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida, 1955. 92 pages.
- Elections in Israel*. Washington, D.C., Israel Office of Information, 1955. 15 pages.
- English in the Senior High School: A Supplement to the Syllabus in English*. Albany, New York, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, New York State Education Department, 1955. 199 pages.
- Escuela de Contabilidad: Economía y Administración*. Vol. VII, rev. Monterrey, Mexico, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 1955. 214 pages.
- The Fifty-fourth Texas Legislature: A Review of Its Work*. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, Public Affairs Series No. 23, 1955. 32 pages.
- Fiore, Michele: *Welfare of Nations*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 708 pages. \$6.00.
- Flumiani, C. M.: *An Introduction to the Social Insanities: As an Explanation for the Presence of the Irrational in History*. Albuquerque, New Mexico, Institute for Political and Economic Studies, 1955. 40 pages. \$2.00.
- Frederick, John H.: *Commercial Air Transportation*. 4th ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 547 pages. \$6.00.
- Freeman, Roger A.: *Federal Aid to Education—Boon or Bane?* Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Association, Inc., No. 458 in the series "National Economic Problems," 1955. 53 pages. \$1.00.
- Friedmann, Georges. Ed. and with an introd. by Harold L. Sheppard: *Industrial Society: The Emergence of the Human Problems of Automation*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1955. 436 pages. \$6.00.
- Gibbs, Henry: *Background to Bitterness: The Story of South Africa, 1652–1954*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 255 pages. \$4.75.
- Glaser, Abram: *This World of Ours*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 492 pages. \$5.00.
- Glos, Raymond E., and Harold A. Baker: *Introduction to Business*. 3d ed., Dallas, South-Western Publishing Company, 1955. 692 pages.
- Glos, Raymond E., and Harold A. Baker: *Questions and Problems for Introduction to Business*. 3d ed., Dallas, South-Western Publishing Company, 1955. 140 pages.
- Harris, Joseph P.: *California Politics*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1955. 66 pages. \$1.00.
- Henshaw, Richard C., Jr.: *Natural-Gas Statistics*. A supplement to Research Monograph No. 15: *Economics of Natural Gas in Texas*. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Bureau of

- Business Research, 1955. 127 pages. \$2.00.
- Henshaw, Richard C., Jr., and Alfred G. Dale: *An Economic Survey of Dallas County, Texas: A Study of Resource Utilization, Industrial Development Potentials, Population Growth, and Water Use*. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 207 pages. \$3.00.
- Hill, Herbert, and Jack Greenberg: *Citizen's Guide to Desegregation: A Study of Social and Legal Change in American Life*. Boston, The Beacon Press, 1955. 185 pages. \$1.00.
- Hook, Sidney: *Marx and the Marxists: The Ambiguous Legacy*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 254 pages. \$1.25.
- Horton, Paul B., and Gerald R. Leslie: *The Sociology of Social Problems*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1955. 584 pages. \$5.50.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Social Factors in Personality*. Vol. VII. Paris, UNESCO, 1955. 185 pages. \$1.00.
- Johnson, Claudius O.: *American State and Local Government*. 2d ed., New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956. 305 pages. \$2.95.
- Kohn, Hans: *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- LaPalombara, Joseph G.: *Guide to Michigan Politics*. New York, The Citizenship Clearing House (affiliated with the Law Center of New York University), 1955. 70 pages. \$.25.
- Larson, James E.: *Reapportionment in Alabama*. University, Alabama, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 76 pages.
- Larsen, J. A. O.: *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955. 249 pages. \$4.00.
- Lee, Elizabeth Briant, and Alfred McClund Lee: *Social Problems in America*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1955. 483 pages. \$4.50.
- 1956 *Legislative Handbook for the Kentucky General Assembly*. Frankfort, Kentucky. Legislative Research Commission, Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1955. 84 pages.
- Lewis, W. Arthur: *The Theory of Economic Growth*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 453 pages. \$6.00.
- MacCorkle, Stuart A.: *The Texas City: Its Power to Zone*. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1955. 24 pages.
- Macdonald, Austin F.: *American City Government and Administration*. 6th ed., New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956. 656 pages. \$6.50.
- Magee, John H.: *Property Insurance*. 3d ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 767 pages. \$6.50.
- McHargue, Daniel S., and Bureau of Government—Institute of Public Administration: *Michigan Government in Brief*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955. 66 pages. \$1.50.
- McLarney, William J.: *Management Training: Cases and Principles*. Rev.

- ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 371 pages. \$5.50.
- Meade, Marvin, Roger D. Hughbanks, and Donald G. Rhodes: *Zoning Survey and Annexation Study for Anthony*. Special Report No. 71. Lawrence, Kansas, Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, 1955. 63 pages.
- Meade, Marvin, Roger D. Hughbanks, and Donald G. Rhodes (prepared by): *Zoning Survey for Beatrice, Nebraska*. Special Report No. 67. Lawrence, Kansas, Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, 1955. 55 pages.
- Peach, W. Nelson, and Walter Krause: *Basic Data of the American Economy*. 4th ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 135 pages. \$2.00.
- Pfister, Harriet S.: *Kansas State Board of Health*. Lawrence, Kansas, Governmental Research Series No. 13, 1955. 199 pages.
- Phelps, Clyde William: *Using Installment Credit*. Baltimore, Commercial Credit Company, Educational Division, Studies in Consumer Credit, No. 4, 1955. 80 pages.
- Pi Suner, August (trans. Charles M. Stern): *Classics of Biology*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 337 pages. \$7.50.
- The President's Review: From the Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, 1954*. New York, The Rockefeller Foundation, 1955. 145 pages.
- Rutland, Robert Allen: *The Birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 243 pages. \$5.00.
- Simmons, Ernest J. (ed. with an introd. by): *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 563 pages. \$7.50.
- Snyder, Louis L.: *Fifty Major Documents of the Nineteenth Century*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 191 pages. \$1.25.
- Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence*. Philadelphia, American Friends Service Committee, 1955. 72 pages. \$.25.
- Taff, Charles A.: *Commercial Motor Transportation*. Rev. ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 673 pages. \$6.00.
- Tarver, James D.: *A Study of Rural Manpower in Southeastern Oklahoma*. Stillwater, Oklahoma, Agricultural Experiment Station, Division of Agriculture, Oklahoma A. & M. College in co-operation with Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. T-56, 1955. 27 pages.
- Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial*. Social Science Studies, 1954. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Publications, 1954. 205 pages. \$3.50.
- Tiedemann, Arthur: *Modern Japan: A Brief History*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- A United Nations Plan for Refugees*. Geneva, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 1955. 40 pages. \$.25.

*United States Trade with Venezuela: A Survey Showing Location of Producers of United States Exports.* New York, Econometric Specialists, Inc., and Walter Mitchell, Jr., 1954. 115 pages.

Watson, Walter T., and Bruce M. Pringle, assisted by Marguerite B. Whitten: *Agencies Providing Services and Treatment to Cerebral Pal-*

*sied Persons in Dallas County, Texas, 1954-1955.* Research Report No. 1. Dallas, Cerebral Palsy Survey Fund, Department of Sociology, Southern Methodist University, 1955. 23 pages.

Woodman, Dorothy: *The Republic of Indonesia.* New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 444 pages. \$6.00.

# Annual Convention Preliminary Program

The Southwestern Social Science Association, Friday and Saturday,  
March 30-31, 1956. *General Headquarters:* Plaza Hotel,  
San Antonio, Texas

## *Thursday Evening, March 29*

Meeting of the Executive Council of  
the Southwestern Social Science As-  
sociation, 7:30 P.M.

## *Friday Morning, March 30*

### ACCOUNTING SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman: To be announced*

1. "Accounting and a Thirteen-Period Calendar," Roderick L. Holmes, Baylor University

*Discussion: To be announced*

2. "The American Accounting Association Statement on Accounting Concepts and Standards," Daniel Borth, Louisiana State University

*Discussion: To be announced*

### AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

8:30 A.M.

*Chairman: H. J. Meenen, University of Arkansas*

*General Topic: "Agricultural Marketing" and "Potential Marketing Innovations in the Southwest"*

1. "Guidelines in Building a Research Program in Marketing," *to be announced*

*Discussion: George Judge, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*

2. "Possibilities of Increased Sales of Plants and Cut Flowers by Packaging and Selling through Grocery Stores,"

Harold Sorensen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

3. "Broiler Marketing Developments in the South," Paul Roy, Louisiana State University
4. "Dairy Consumption Habits," L. V. Blakley, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
5. "The Consumer's Preference for Meat," V. James Rhodes, University of Missouri
6. Open discussion

11:00 A.M.

*Chairman: To be announced*

*General Topic: "Agricultural Policy Proposals"*

1. "Retired Acres and the Soil-Bank Plan," Joe R. Campbell, Louisiana State University

### BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman: Leland McCloud*

*General Topic: "Current Business-Research Activities in the Southwest" (ten-minute talks)*

1. "Current Business-Research Activities in Arkansas," Merwyn G. Bridenstine, University of Arkansas
2. "Current Business-Research Activities in Louisiana," P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
3. "Current Business-Research Activi-



- ties in New Mexico," Ralph L. Edgel, University of New Mexico
4. "Current Business-Research Activities in Oklahoma," Francis R. Cella, University of Oklahoma
  5. "Current Business-Research Activities in Texas," John R. Stockton, University of Texas
  6. "Current Business-Research Activities in the Dallas-Fort Worth area," A. Franklin Murph, Texas Christian University
  7. "Current Business-Research Activities in the Houston Area," Alan D. Carey, University of Houston

## BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:* George Heather, Texas Technological College

*General Topic:* "Effective Teaching of Business Administration" (ten-minute talks)

1. "Teaching Methods—An Evaluation and Recommendation," Jean D. Neal, Sam Houston State Teachers College
2. "Enrichment of Theory Courses with Local Business Practice," Willis J. Wheat, Oklahoma City University
3. "Research and the Undergraduate Student of Business Administration," Paul V. Grambach, Tulane University
4. "Educational Programs for Local Businessmen," Robert W. Barclay, University of Houston
5. "An Effective Classroom Testing Program," James W. Parsons, Baylor University
6. "Measuring and Rewarding Effective Teaching," William A. Nielander, University of Wichita

10:15 A.M. Group discussion

## BUSINESS LAW SECTION

*To be announced*

## ECONOMICS SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:* H. R. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University

*General Topic:* "Recent Developments in Economic Theory"

1. "Recent Developments in Interest-Rate Theory," S. L. McDonald, University of Texas  
Discussion: Charles F. Haywood, Tulane University  
Questions from floor (seven minutes)
2. "Increasing Cross-Fertilization of Economic Theory," David Hamilton, University of New Mexico  
Discussion: *To be announced*  
Questions from floor (seven minutes)
3. *To be announced*, H. L. McCracken, Louisiana State University  
Discussion: *To be announced*  
Questions from floor (seven minutes)

## GEOGRAPHY SECTION

9:15 A.M.

*Chairman:* Martine Emmert, Texas Christian University

1. "The North Canadian River Valley: A Study in Water Use," Ralph E. Olson, University of Oklahoma
2. "Caves—A Recreational Resource of the Southwest," David C. Winslow, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
3. "City Planning in Norway, with Special Reference to Oslo," Magne Ommundsen (City Planning Office, Oslo, Fulbright scholar), University of Texas
4. "San Antonio and Its Industries," Gus F. White, San Antonio Chamber of Commerce

10:50 A.M.

*Chairman:* Arthur Doerr, University of Oklahoma

1. "The Physiography of the Bayou Manchac Midden," Phillip B. Larimore, Louisiana State University
2. "Significance of the Archaeological Remains of the Bayou Manchac Midden," Frederic Hadleigh-West, Louisiana State University
3. "The Portuguese Algarve," Dan Stanislawski, University of Texas

## GOVERNMENT SECTION

8:30 A.M.

*Chairman:* James Jensen, University of Houston*General Topic:* "Modern Political Theory"

1. "The Resurgence of Conservatism in Contemporary Thought," H. Malcolm Macdonald, University of Texas
2. "Theory of Partisanship in American Foreign Policy," August O. Spain, Texas Christian University
3. "On the Nature of Constitutional Democracy: Commentary on Lippmann's Concept of the Public Philosophy," Walter E. Sandelius, University of Kansas
4. Discussion: *To be announced*

## HISTORY SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:* Ted Worley, Arkansas Historical Commission*General Topic:* "Some Social Problems in the Southwest"

1. "Judge Lynch in Mississippi, 1835," Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston
2. "Origin and Development of Mexican Migratory Labor in the Southwest," George A. Coalson, Texas College of Arts and Industries

3. "American Protestantism and the Revived Ku Klux Klan," Robert M. Miller, Texas Western College
4. "Contemporary Crosscurrents of Progressivism and Conservatism in Arkansas," Orville R. Yeager, Ouachita Baptist College
5. Discussion: R. W. Steen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

## SOCIOLOGY SECTION

8:30 A.M.

*Chairman:* Charles N. Burrows, Trinity University*General Topic:* "Social-Work Education"

1. "Some Contributions of Literature to Social-Work Education," Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
2. "A Ten-Year Experiment in Undergraduate Field Experience in Social Work," Reba Bucklen, Texas State College for Women
3. *To be announced*

10:00 A.M. Business meeting

10:30 A.M.

*Chairman:* Harry E. Moore, University of Texas*General Topic:* "Race Relations"

1. "Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes, and Desegregation," A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas
2. "Tolerant-Intolerant Attitudes among University Students," Jiri Nehnevajsa, University of Colorado
3. "The Impact of a Tornado Disaster upon a Minority Ethnic Group," Fred R. Crawford, Texas Technological College
4. "A Study of Attitudes of a Selected Group of Ministers toward School Integration," Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College

5. Discussion: Robert L. Sutherland, Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, University of Texas

## STUDENT SOCIOLOGY SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*To be announced**Friday luncheons*

ACCOUNTING 12:00 Noon

*Address:* "Some Problems in Accounting Education," President John Arch White, American Accounting Association

## BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

12:00 Noon

*Address:* "Services Available from the Small Business Administration," Wendell B. Barnes, administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.

## GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE

12:30 P.M. *Address:* "Work of the Special Committee on Liberal Education at the University of Texas," Frederic Meyers, University of Texas

*Friday Afternoon, March 30*

## ACCOUNTING SECTION

1:30 P.M.

*Chairman: To be announced*

1. "The Development of Auditing Techniques in the United States," Allan T. Steele, Northwestern State College (Oklahoma)

Discussion: *To be announced*

2. Business session

3. "Some Changes in Accounting Terminology," Earl Clevenger, University of Tulsa

Discussion: *To be announced*

## AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

1:00 P.M.

*General Topic:* "Agricultural Policy Proposals" (continued)

2. "The North Carolina and Illinois Proposals," *to be announced*

3. "The Wisconsin and Purdue Proposals," Curtis Cable, University of Arkansas

4. Open discussion

2:30 P.M.

*Chairman:* C. A. Bonnen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

*General Topic:* "Selected Current Research Areas in Production Economics"

1. "Risk and Uncertainty Arising from Soil Moisture—Yield Relationships and Their Influence on Farmer Decisions in the Great Plains," R. J. Hildreth, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

Discussion leader: *To be announced*

2. "Economic Accounting Problems Involved in Evaluating Alternative Pasture-Forage Systems," D. G. Laferty, University of Arkansas

Discussion leader: *To be announced*

3. "The Developing Supply Relationship in Agriculture—the National Wheat Adjustment Study," *to be announced*

4. Open discussion

5. Business meeting

## BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTIONS (joint meeting)

2:00 P.M.

*Chairman:* Burton R. Risinger, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

*General Topic:* "Business Administration Programs and the Industrial Development of the Southwest" (fifteen-minute talks)

1. "Management Courses and Industrial Development—Trends and Relations," Leon Megginson, Louisiana State University

2. "Marketing—Today and Tomorrow," George H. Zeiss, Jr., Southern Methodist University
3. "How Can Industrialization Be Aided by a Bureau of Business Research?" P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
4. "Promoting Labor-Management Relationships," George Guido, Jr., regional manager, American Arbitration Association, Dallas, Texas
5. "Finance and Banking for Industrial Growth," *to be announced*
6. "The Contribution of the Private Research Agency to Industrial Development," Lawrence J. Tidrick, chairman, Department of Industrial Economics, Southwest Research Institute
7. Group discussion

4:15 P.M. Business meeting (both sections)

#### BUSINESS LAW SECTION

*To be announced*

#### ECONOMICS—GEOGRAPHY SECTIONS (joint meeting)

2:00 P.M.

*Chairman:* Sam B. Barton, North Texas State College

*General Topic:* "Resources"

1. "Conservation in Production of Petroleum," Erich W. Zimmermann, University of Texas  
Discussion: W. N. Peach, University of Oklahoma  
Questions from floor (seven minutes)
2. "The Price of Natural Gas," Richard J. Gonzalez, Humble Oil and Refining Company  
Discussion: *To be announced*  
Questions from floor (seven minutes)
3. "Energy Revolution in American Agriculture," Clay L. Cochran, National Rural Electric Co-operative

Association

Discussion: W. M. Caskey, Mississippi College

Questions from floor (seven minutes)

4:30 P.M. Business meeting (both sections)

#### GEOGRAPHY—ECONOMICS SECTIONS (joint meeting)

2:00 P.M.

4:30 P.M. Business meeting

#### GOVERNMENT SECTION

2:00 P.M.

*Chairman:* *To be announced*

*General Topic:* "Latin America: Constitutions and Politics"

1. "A Composite Latin-American Constitution," J. Lloyd Mecham, University of Texas
2. "Recent Developments in Argentina," Louis G. Kahle, University of Missouri
3. *To be announced*  
Discussion: R. D. Mack, Texas Technological College
- 4:00 P.M. Business meeting

#### HISTORY SECTION

2:00 P.M.

*Chairman:* Alfred B. Sears, University of Oklahoma

*General Topic:* "Oil Exploration and Development in the Southwest"

1. "The East Texas Field: The Discovery Well," William J. Murray, Jr., chairman, Railroad Commission of Texas
2. "The West Texas Field: Discovery Operations," Robert L. Martin, University of Oklahoma
3. "Three Epochs of Petroleum," James A. Clark, *Houston Post*
4. Discussion: *To be announced*

#### SOCIOLOGY SECTION

2:00 P.M.

*Chairman:* William L. Kolb, Newcomb College (Tulane University)

*General Topic:* "Social Theory"

1. "Sociological Theories of Bureaucracy: A Critique," Jack E. Dodson, University of Texas
2. "Theoretical Models in a Comparative Sociology of Work," Robert C. Stone, Tulane University
3. "Human Dignity and Social Science," Franz Adler, University of Arkansas

3:30 P.M.

*Chairman:* Donald D. Stewart, University of Arkansas

*General Topic:* "Research Methods"

1. "The Function of Marginality in Social Research," Gideon Sjöberg, University of Texas
2. "Formulating City-Manager Types," George K. Floro, Louisiana State University
3. "A New Method in Housing Research," Byron E. Munson, North Texas State College
4. "A Consideration of the Guttman Scaling Technique," Leta McKinney Adler, University of Arkansas

#### STUDENT SOCIOLOGY SECTION

2:00 P.M.

*To be announced*

#### GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE

5:00 P.M. Business meeting

#### Friday Evening, March 30

7:00 P.M. Conference dinner

*Presiding:* O. J. Curry, first vice-president, North Texas State College

*President's Address:* John W. White, University of Arkansas

*Conference Address:* *To be announced*

#### Saturday Morning, March 31

8:00 A.M. General business meeting

#### ACCOUNTING SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:* *To be announced*

1. "The Certified Public Accountant as a Business Consultant and Independent Controller," Joseph Dranguet, Southern Methodist University  
*Discussion:* *To be announced*
2. "More Effective Elementary Accounting Teaching," Reginald Rushing, Texas Technological College  
*Discussion:* *To be announced*

#### AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:* B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University

*General Topic:* "The Low-Income Problem within Agriculture"

1. "National Policy Measures to Implement Research and Local Initiative to Reduce the Low-Income Problem within Agriculture," W. E. Hendrix, Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture  
*Discussion leader:* W. B. Back, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. Round-table discussion, "Research and Rural Development"  
*Discussion leader:* J. H. Southern, Agricultural Research Service, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
3. "Research in Progress and Planned within the Southwest Region," J. H. Southern, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
4. "Research Objectives and General Procedure in a Pilot County," Clarence A. Moore, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
5. "Possibilities of the Community Approach in Rural Development within



Low-Income Areas," Paul H. Price,  
Louisiana State University

6. "Formulating Plans for Rural Development in Pilot Counties," T. E. Atkinson, Extension Service, University of Arkansas

7. Open discussion

#### BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTION

Tour of Southwest Research Institute

#### BUSINESS LAW SECTION

*To be announced*

#### ECONOMICS—HISTORY—GOVERNMENT SECTIONS (joint meeting)

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman: To be announced*

*General Topic: "Issues in the 1956 Election"*

1. "The Farm Problem as an Issue in the 1956 Election," John McNeely, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. "Our Foreign Policy," Hans A. Schmitt, University of Oklahoma
3. "Implications of the Labor Merger in the 1956 Election," *to be announced*
4. Discussion: *To be announced*

#### GEOGRAPHY SECTION

9:30 A.M.

*Chairman: Yvonne Phillips, Northwest State College of Louisiana*

1. "Berlin, Problems of a Divided City," Klaus Schroeder (Free University of Berlin, Fulbright scholar), University of Texas
2. "Cultural Landscapes in Surinam, South America," John H. Vann, Louisiana State University
3. "Map-Reading Readiness in the Ele-

mentary Schools," Lorrin Kennamer, East Texas State Teachers College

10:45 A.M.

*Chairman: Elizabeth Sterry, Southwest Texas State Teachers College*

1. "A Plea for Better Geographic Writing," Arthur Doerr, University of Oklahoma
2. "Crest Yards—Boon for Transportation Geographers," J. Edwin Becht, University of Houston
3. "The Ports of Texas and Their Hinterlands," *to be announced*
4. "The D. *announc*

#### SOCIOLOGY

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman:*

*Christia*

*General T*

1. "Social jury," Texas S
2. "Distributi characteristi Southw city of "
3. "A Ca The Pr win H.
4. "Portwar *adjustments of War*," Charles B. Davis and Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
5. "Communications and Social Structure: Patterns of Information Exposure among Workers in a Rural Town Community in Brazil," Thomas L. Blair, Jarvis Christian College

10:30 A.M. Business meeting

THE

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Louisiana State University

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4. "The Dallas Water Supply," *to be announced*

#### SOCIOLOGY SECTION

9:00 A.M.

*Chairman: Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University*

*General Topic: "Social Psychology"*

1. "Social Psychology of Industrial Injury," Leonard G. Benson, North Texas State College
2. "Distribution of Patients by Characteristics in Mental Hospitals in the Southwest," E. Gartly Jaco, University of Texas (Medical Branch)
3. "A Case History of an Alcoholic: The Process of Resocialization," Elwin H. Powell, University of Tulsa
4. "Postwar Adjustments of Prisoners of War," Charles B. Davis and Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
5. "Communications and Social Structure: Patterns of Information Exposure among Workers in a Rural Town Community in Brazil," Thomas L. Blair, Jarvis Christian College

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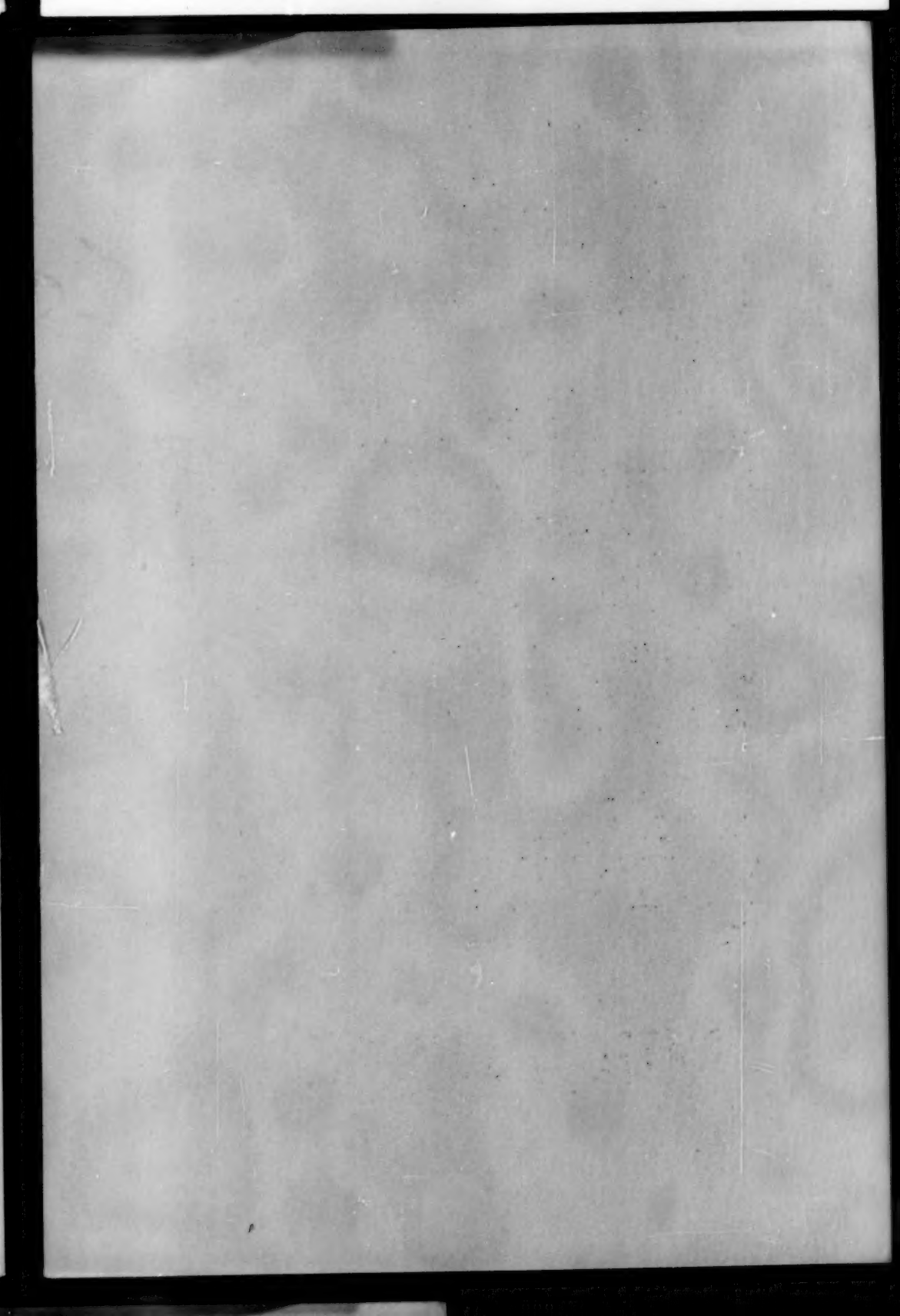
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PROGRAM  
ANNUAL CONVENTION

1955

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**Friday, Saturday, April 8, 9, 1955**

**General Headquarters—Hotel Adolphus**

**DALLAS, TEXAS**



## Officers of the Association and the Executive Council

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Agricultural Economics: H. J. Meenen, University of Arkansas  
Business Administration: Cleatice L. Littlefield, North Texas State College  
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Sociology: Sandor B. Kovacs, University of Tulsa

## NOTICES

*Headquarters:* The Hotel Adolphus, Dallas, Texas. All meetings will be in the Hotel Adolphus unless otherwise noted. For sections scheduled to meet in a Sample Room, the exact room name or number will be posted on a bulletin board located next to the Registration Desk.

*Invitation to the Public:* All persons, whether or not members of the Association, are cordially invited to attend the general and sectional meetings.

*Registration and Dues:* Registration will be in the Lobby of the Hotel Adolphus. Members should register immediately upon arrival, as follows:

Thursday, April 7, 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

Friday, April 8, beginning at 8 a.m.

Saturday, April 9, beginning at 8 a.m.

The Secretary-Treasurer's desk will be located in the Lobby. Members who have not already remitted dues by mail are urged to pay them to the Secretary-Treasurer at the conference, by check if possible.

*Resolutions:* Persons and sections having resolutions to bring before the Association should file them in writing with the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, by 6:00 p.m. on Friday.

*Conference Dinner:* Friday, 7 p.m., Cactus Room, Twenty-First Floor, Hotel Adolphus. Tickets must be purchased (price \$3.30) at the Registration Desk by Friday noon.

*Business Meetings and Elections:* The general business meeting of the Association will be held at 8:00 a.m., Saturday morning, in Parlor A. Section business meetings will be held at times and places noted in the printed program. The members of each section elect a chairman and an associate editor of the *Quarterly*. Current section chairmen will report the names of newly elected section officers to the Secretary-Treasurer by 6:00 p.m. Friday.

*Section Luncheon Meetings:* Several sections are holding section luncheon meetings at Friday noon, the details of time and place being noted in the printed program. Tickets for section luncheons (price \$2.20) must be secured from section chairmen in advance.

*Displays by Publishers:* You are invited to visit our book exhibits in the North Room.

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## PROGRAM

### Southwestern Social Science Association

Thursday Evening, April 7

#### Executive Council of the Southwestern Social Science Association

7:00 PM

Parlor C

Meeting

Friday Morning, April 8

#### Accounting Section

8:30 AM

Parlor C

Chairman: James M. Owen, Louisiana State University

1. *"A Well-Informed and Better-Guided Student,"* William P. Carr, Loyola University  
Discussion: To be announced
2. *"Recent Developments in Accounting Research,"* Charles T. Zlatkovich, University of Texas  
Discussion: Haskell G. Taylor, Texas Technological College
3. *"Course Content and Conduct,"* Emerson O. Henke, Baylor University  
Discussion: D. W. Curry, Southern Methodist University

#### Agricultural Economics Section

8:30 AM

Parlor B

Chairman: Bueford Gile, Louisiana State University

General Topic: "The Southern Farmer and Agricultural Legislation"

1. *"The Southern Farmer and Foreign Trade,"* Wayland Bennett, Texas Technological College
2. *"The Southern Farmer and Current Agricultural Legislation and Regulation,"* William A. Faught, Mississippi State College  
Open Discussion

10:30 AM

Chairman: John Southern, Agricultural Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

General Topic: "The Farmer and His Land"

1. *"A Comparison of Riparian and Appropriated Water Rights,"* Wells A. Hutchins, Agricultural Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture
2. *"A Comparison of Land Value Theories and the Everyday Operation of the Land Market,"* Robert L. Tontz, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College  
Open Discussion

## **Business Administration Section — Business Research (Joint Meeting)**

9:00 AM

Parlor D

*Chairman:* Burl Hubbard, Texas Technological College

1. *"The Social Responsibilities of Business Organizations,"* Ronald B. Shuman, University of Oklahoma.
2. *"The Research Program of the Dearborn Stove Company,"* William J. Crum, Director of Research, Dearborn Stove Company

## **Economics Section**

9:00 AM

French Room

*Chairman:* Harlan L. McCracken, Chairman, Department of Economics, Louisiana State University

*General Topic:* Economic Theory and Economic Analysis

1. *"The Return of Cardinal Utility,"* Clark Lee Allen, Chairman, Department of Economics, Agricultural & Mechanical College of Texas  
Discussion: Jim E. Reese, University of Oklahoma
2. *"What's Left of the General Theory,"* Harry Williams, University of Houston  
Discussion: Arthur A. Wichmann, Head, Department of Economics, University of Wichita
3. *"Balance of Payments Analysis Reconsidered,"* Rudolph W. Trenton, Oklahoma Agricultural & Mechanical College  
Discussion: P. C. M. Teichert, Louisiana State University

## **Geography Section**

9:30 AM

Parlor G

*Chairman:* Harry E. Hoy, University of Oklahoma

1. *"Geography of the Rainforest of Western Pinchincha and Esmeraldas, Ecuador,"* Luis Freille, University of Oklahoma
2. *"Some Southern Landscapes,"* Walter Hansen, North Texas State College
3. *"The Time Factor in Geographic Analysis,"* C. J. Bollinger, University of Oklahoma
4. *"Distribution of Indians in the United States,"* John W. Morris, University of Oklahoma
5. Business Meeting

## **Government Section**

8:30 AM

Parlor F

*Chairman:* Sam B. McAllister, North Texas State College

*General Topic:* "The Segregation Problem"

1. *"The Court Position,"* Steve Worth, University of Wichita
2. *"The Political Reaction to the Non-segregation Ruling,"* Rhoten Smith, University of Kansas
3. *"The Implementation of the Non-segregation Ruling,"* To be announced
4. Discussion: Janice Christensen, University of Oklahoma

Others: To be announced



## History Section

9:00 AM

Parlor A

Chairman: Herbert Gambrell, Southern Methodist University

General Topic: "American Historiography and Research"

1. "Basic Problems of Historical Knowledge," C. Stanley Urban, Park College, Parkville, Missouri
2. "Historians Review Their Craft," David D. Van Tassell, University of Texas
3. "Practical Problems of State Archives," Ted Worley, Arkansas Historical Commission
4. "The Education of an Editor," Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico

## Sociology Section

8:30 AM

Danish Room

Chairman: Charles C. Johnson, Baylor University

General Topic: "Marriage and the Family"

Papers to be announced

10:00 AM

Chairman: H. J. Friedsam, North Texas State College

General Topic: "Social Psychology"

1. "The Logic of Inquiry and the Freudian System of Social Psychology," Forrest LaViolette, Tulane University
2. "Friendship Associations in a Group of Public School Children," Ethelyn Davis, Texas State College for Women
3. "Levels of Aspiration of Hospital Nurses: A Note on Attitudes toward Occupational Mobility," Donald Stewart, University of Arkansas
4. "New Personnel Turnover: A Function of Work Expectations and Negative Reinforcement," Fred R. Crawford, University of Texas, and George W. Baker, Randolph Air Force Base

## Sociology Student Section

9:00 AM

Sample Room

Chairman: To be announced

1. "Married Women Employed as Full-time Private Branch Exchange Telephone Operators in Dallas, Texas," Bertha Fritz, Southern Methodist University
2. "What the Churches of Houston Are Doing to Help the Family in Its Problem," Louis Paul Durham, University of Houston
3. To be announced

## American Business Writing Association

8:30 AM

Registration

Invocation

Welcome: Kenneth Baker Horning, ABWA Vice-President, South, The University of Oklahoma

1. "Advertising—A Primary Tool of Public Relations," Bernard Brister, Counselor in Public Relations

2. Panel: "Direct Mail," Mrs. Virginia Baker Long, Southern Methodist University, *Chairman*: Mrs. Ros Taylor, Advertising Manager, A. Harris & Company; Mrs. Anna S. Hill, Annahill Direct Mail Advertising; George B. Cole, Creative Direct Mail Advertising; Mrs. Mary C. Cahill, Executive Assistant to Vice-President, Rogers & Smith

## FRIDAY LUNCHEONS

### Accounting Luncheon

12:30 PM

Parlor D

*Speaker*: Willard J. Graham, President of the American Accounting Association

### Geography Luncheon and Field Trip

12:00 Noon

*Chairman*: Tom L. McKnight, Southern Methodist University

(Bus will leave the hotel at 12:00 noon and take the group to a suburban restaurant on the way to the area to be visited in the afternoon. Mr. Tom McKnight and his colleagues at Southern Methodist University have planned an outstanding trip to the General Motors assembly plant at Arlington and the Bell Aircraft plant (helicopters) at Hurst. There will be conducted tours through both these plants. An opportunity will be provided the tour members to see the string bean urban development between Dallas and Fort Worth.)

### General Education in the Social Sciences: The Introductory Course

#### Luncheon

12:30 PM

Parlor G

*Speakers*: Frank H. Girlinghouse, Louisiana State University; Nino Lobello, University of Kansas

## Friday Afternoon, April 8

### Accounting Section

2:00 PM

Parlor C

*Chairman*: Horace Brock, North Texas State College

1. "The Effect of Electronic Data Processing on Accounting," E. V. McCollough, Louisiana State University  
Discussion: I. E. McNeill, University of Houston
2. "A More Effective Teacher," Ralph C. Russell, Texas College of Arts and Industries  
Discussion: Reginald Rushing, Texas Technological College
3. Business Session

## **Agricultural Economics Section**

1:00 PM

Parlor B

Chairman: John W. White, University of Arkansas

General Topic: "Farm and Home Development"

1. *"The Unit Approach to Farm and Home Planning,"* A. C. Magee, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
2. *"Goals in Farm and Home Planning and Criteria for Measuring Success,"* George Townsend, National Cotton Council
3. *"The Role of All Agricultural Economists in Farm and Home Planning,"* L. F. Miller, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
4. *"Farm Management Research Material Essential to Sound Farm Planning,"* D. W. Parvin, Mississippi State College
5. *"How Far Can the Agricultural Agent Go in Suggesting Alternative Farm Plans,"* R. B. Johnston, Mississippi State College

3:15 PM

Chairman: R. J. Saville, Mississippi State College

General Topic: "Farm Management Methodology"

1. *"The Use of Budget Analysis in Farm Management Research,"* H. J. Hildreth, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
2. *"An Evaluation of Research Techniques in Farm Management,"* Fred Weigmann, Louisiana State University
3. *"Fitting Controlled Beef Cattle Experiments to the Whole Farm System,"* E. A. Tucker, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
4. Open Discussion
5. Business Meeting

## **Bureau of Business Research Section**

2:00 PM

Parlor E

Business Meeting

## **Business Administration Section**

2:00 PM

Parlor D

Chairman: Glenn D. Overman, Oklahoma City University

1. *"Fellowship Programs Now Available in Industry to Professor of Business Administration,"* Jesse B. Johnson, Louisiana State University
2. *"The Field of Consulting for Business Professors,"* Ira Corn, Management Consultant, Dallas

4:30 PM

Business Meeting

## Economics Section

2:00 PM

French Room

Chairman: John E. Hodges, Department of Economics, Rice Institute

General Topic: "Economic Development"

1. *"Economics of Growth and Development: The New Economics?"*  
Clarence E. Ayres, University of Texas  
Discussion: Clarence H. Danhof, Tulane University
2. *"Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries,"* Warren A. Law,  
Southern Methodist University  
Discussion: Wendell Gordon, University of Texas
3. *"Is Birth Control a Prerequisite to a Rise in the Standard of Living in Latin America?"* Julian S. Duncan, Chairman, Department of Economics, University of New Mexico  
Discussion: J. S. Spratt, Southern Methodist University

4:30 PM

Business Meeting

## Government Section

2:00 PM

Parlor F

Chairman: J. William Davis, Texas Technological College

General Topic: "The 1954 Elections"

1. *"Recent Trends in Negro Voting,"* Robert E. Martin, Howard University
2. *"Republicanism and Conservatism in the South and Southwest,"* O. Douglas Weeks, University of Texas
3. *"An Over-view of Public Reaction to the Eisenhower Administration,"* Cortez Ewing, University of Oklahoma
4. Discussion: Tilman C. Cothran, Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College  
Charles W. Proctor, Texas Christian University

4:00 PM

Business Meeting

## History Section

2:00 PM

Parlor A

Chairman: Francis G. James, Newcomb College, Tulane

General Topic: "Southwestern Biography"

1. *"Albert Pike, Lawyer-Sportsman of Arkansas and the Southwest,"* W. L. Brown, University of Arkansas  
Discussion: James McLendin, Mississippi State College
2. *"General Stand Watie,"* E. E. Dale, University of Houston  
Discussion: J. L. Waller, Texas Western College
3. *"Alexander Watkins Terrell: Texas Statesman,"* C. K. Chamberlain, Stephen F. Austin State College  
Discussion: Joseph M. Nance, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
4. *"The Political Strategy of Edward M. House,"* R. N. Richardson, Hardin-Simmons University  
Discussion: Homer C. Huit, Arkansas State College

4:30 PM

Business Meeting

## **Sociology Section**

1:45 PM

Danish Room

Business Meeting

2:00 PM

Chairman: Gideon Sjoberg, University of Texas

General Topic: "Sociology of Urban Life"

1. "Attitudes Concerning Urban Versus Suburban Residency in Indianapolis," Byron Munson, North Texas State College
2. "Relocation of Families in Two Urban Disaster-Affected Areas," Fred Crawford and Harry Moore, University of Texas
3. "Propaganda and Promotion as a Factor in Urban Growth," Robert Talbert, Texas Christian University
4. "Continuity of City Manager Careers," George K. Floro, Louisiana State University
5. "Cultural Variability in Ecological Configurations: A Case Study," Edwin Powell, University of Tulsa

3:30 PM

Chairman: J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas

General Topic: "Sociology of Rural Life"

1. "Cost of Rearing and Educating the Rural-Urban Migrant" James D. Tarver, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. "Agricultural Mechanization and Farm Population Changes in Texas" Robert L. Skrabanek, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
3. "The Aged in Louisiana's Rural Farm Population," Paul H. Price, Louisiana State University
4. "The Use of Cartographic Techniques in Population Analysis," Sam Schulman, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

## **Student Sociology Section**

2:00 PM

Sample Room

Chairman: To be announced

1. "The Marginality and Creativity of the Jew: Some Implications," Mrs. Audrey Borenstein, Louisiana State University
2. "Positivism as a Social Movement," Kent Rice, University of Arkansas

## **American Business Writing Association**

2:00 PM

1. "Improving Written Communications in Industry," Loyd L. Turner, Special Assistant to Manager, Convair, Fort Worth
  2. "Report Writing: Integration of Course in Report Writing with the College Curriculum," A. L. Cosgrove, The University of Oklahoma
  3. "The Know How in the Teaching of Business Writing. New Ideas," Mrs. Lillian Warren, College of Business Administration, University of Houston, Chairman
- "Teachers and Textbooks Encumber the Student," E. D. Gedcock, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.
- "Preview of Background Material and Related Subjects," Jessamon Dawe, The University of Texas
- "New Ideas," Ples Masten, University of Houston
- "Application Letters," K. W. Hall, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
- "I Should Know." An Ex's Response. John Biggs, Training Officer, Houston Police Department



## Friday Evening, April 8

### Conference Dinner

7:00 PM

Cactus Room

*Presiding:* John W. White, First Vice-President, University of Arkansas

*President's Address:* "Research, Teaching, and the Social Sciences," P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University

*Conference Address:* Thomas H. Carroll, Vice President, Ford Foundation

### Dinner of American Business Writing Association

7:30 PM

*Chairman:* Loyce Adams, Sam Houston State Teachers College

*"Communication Ability Industry Demands of the Business Graduate,"*  
George Pingree, Manager of Apparatus and Product Component Sales,  
Southwestern District, General Electric Company

## Saturday Morning, April 9

### General Business Meeting, followed by meeting of Executive Council

8:00 AM

Parlor A

### Accounting-Business Administration Sections (Joint Meeting)

9:00 AM

Parlor D

*Chairman:* T. W. Leland, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas

1. Panel Discussion: "*The Budgeting Program of the Williamson-Dickie Manufacturing Company*," C. D. Williams, President and General Manager and other Executives

### Agricultural Economics Section

9:00 AM

Parlor B

*Chairman:* Archie Leonard, Texas Technological College

*General Topic:* "Marketing Research in the Area of Merchandising"

1. "Methods and Problems in Research of Merchandising Farm Products," Jerry M. Law, Louisiana State University
2. "Adaptation and Use of Experimental Designs for Research in Merchandising Farm Products," Glen L. Burrows, Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture
3. "Procedure, Problems and Results of a Study of Consumer Demand for Meat," Elmer Kiehl, University of Missouri
4. Open Discussion

## **Economics-History-Government Sections (Joint Meeting)**

9:00 AM

French Room

Chairman: Rufus Hall, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: "Who is Winning the Cold War?"

1. *"Soviet Economic Development in the Post War Period,"* Murray E. Polakoff, University of Texas
  2. *"Russian Foreign Policy After Stalin,"* Boris Hansen Klosson, United States Department of State
  3. *"American Foreign Policy Under Eisenhower,"* Oliver Benson, University of Oklahoma
- Discussion: S. M. Kennedy, Jr., Texas Technological College

## **Geography Section**

9:00 AM

Parlor G

1. *"Factors in the Location of the Texas Apparel Industry,"* Alfred G. Dale, University of Texas
2. *"Economic Geography of Regional Active Employment Files,"* Alexander I. Warrington, Louisiana State Employment Service
3. *To be announced,* Edwin Foscue, Southern Methodist University
4. *"Texas' Pulp and Paper Industry,"* Ernest H. Vaughan, Lamar State College of Technology
5. *"Some Kodachromes That Illustrate Geographic Phenomena,"* Arthur H. Doerr, University of Oklahoma

## **Sociology Section**

9:00 AM

Danish Room

Chairman: A. L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University

General Topic: "Crime and Juvenile Delinquency"

1. *"The Factor of Motivation in Theories of Crime,"* Gilbert Geis, University of Oklahoma
2. *"Group Therapy in a Juvenile Court Setting,"* John Wall and June Ellis, The Juvenile Court of New Orleans
3. *"Apparent Motivations of Self-Mutilating Behavior Among Girls in a Training School,"* Mrs. Maxine Burlingham, Superintendent, State Training School for Girls, Gainesville, Texas, and Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University

10:45 AM

Business Meeting

## EXHIBITS

Textbook exhibits by some of the leading publishers will be open for the duration of the meetings. These will be in the North Room, Fifteenth Floor of the Adolphus. Representatives of the book companies will be glad to confer with members and visitors. These companies have been most generous in their financial contributions to the Association. Their exhibits will be of very real interest to all social scientists.

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# REAL SCIENCE

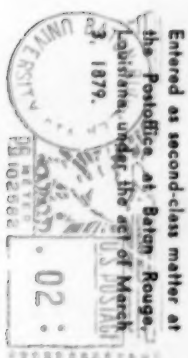
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1914

**SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**ASSOCIATION**

**Baton Rouge, Louisiana**



**University Microfilms  
313 North First Street  
Ann Arbor, Michigan**

THE SOUTHWESTERN  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE**  
ASSOCIATION

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PROGRAM  
ANNUAL CONVENTION  
1956

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Friday, Saturday, March 30, 31, 1956  
General Headquarters — The Plaza Hotel  
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
ASSOCIATION

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

University Microfilms  
315 North First St.  
Ann Arbor, Mich.



## Officers of the Association and the Executive Council

President: John W. White, University of Arkansas  
First Vice-President: O. J. Curry, North Texas State College  
Second Vice-President: J. William Davis, Texas Technological College  
Secretary-Treasurer: Leon Megginson, Louisiana State University  
Past President: P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University  
Past President: Carl M. Rosenquist, University of Texas  
Editor of *Quarterly*: Frederic Meyers, University of Texas  
General Program Chairman: Henry J. Meenen, University of Arkansas  
Past Program Chairman: W. H. Baughn, Louisiana State University

### *Section Chairmen:*

Accounting: John E. Kane, University of Arkansas  
Agricultural Economics: L. F. Miller, Oklahoma A. and M. College  
Business Administration: Glenn D. Overman, Oklahoma City University  
Business Research: Leland McLeod, Texas Christian University  
Economics: Wendell C. Gordon, University of Texas  
Geography: Stanley Arbingast, University of Texas  
Government: S. M. Kennedy, Jr., Texas Technological College  
History: A. B. Sears, University of Oklahoma  
Sociology: Walter Firey, University of Texas

## NOTICES

*Headquarters:* The Plaza Hotel, San Antonio, Texas. All meetings will be in The Plaza Hotel. For sections scheduled to meet in the Ballroom and Roof Garden, the location will be designated by signs on easels located near the doors.

*Invitation to Public:* All persons, whether or not members of the Association, are cordially invited to attend the general and sectional meetings.

*Registration and Dues:* Registration will be in the Lobby of The Plaza Hotel. Members should register immediately upon arrival as follows:

Thursday, March 29, 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

Friday, March 30, beginning at 8:00 a.m.

Saturday, March 31, beginning at 8:00 a.m.

The Secretary-Treasurer's desk will be located in the Lobby. Members who have not already remitted dues by mail are urged to pay them to the Secretary-Treasurer at the conference by check if possible.

*Resolutions:* Persons and sections having resolutions to bring before the Assembly should file them in writing with the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, by 6:00 p.m. on Friday.

*Conference Dinner:* Friday 7 p.m., Roof Garden, The Plaza Hotel. Tickets must be purchased (price \$3.00) at the Registration Desk by Friday noon.

*Business Meetings and Elections:* The general business meeting of the Association will be held at 8:00 a.m., Saturday morning, in the Ballroom. Section business meetings will be held at times and places noted in the printed program. The members of each section elect a chairman and an associate editor of the *Quarterly*. Current section chairmen will report the names of newly elected section officers to the Secretary-Treasurer by 6:00 p.m. Friday.

*Section Luncheon Meetings:* Several sections are holding section luncheon meetings at Friday noon, the details of time and place being noted in the printed program. Tickets for the Accounting and Business Administration Luncheon (price \$1.90) and Social Science Luncheon (price \$2.75) must be secured from section chairmen in advance.

*Displays by Publishers:* You are invited to visit our book exhibits on the Mezzanine Floor.

## COMMITTEES

### *Nomination of Officers*

Alvin Bertrand, Chairman Louisiana State University	Lionel D. Haight New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts
H. J. Meenen University of Arkansas	John Elton Hodges Rice Institute
Oliver Benson University of Oklahoma	Edwin J. Foscue Southern Methodist University
James Taylor State College, San Marcos	

### *Membership*

J. William Davis, Chairman, Texas Technological College

### *Local Arrangements*

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Charles N. Burrows, Trinity University	

### *Institutional Membership*

Joseph C. Pray, Chairman University of Oklahoma	Reginald Rushing Texas Technological College
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Alan D. Carey University of Houston	Lionel D. Haight New Mexico A. & M. College
H. A. Dulan University of Arkansas	M. D. Woodin Louisiana State University

### *Endowment*

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H. R. Mundhenke Texas Christian University	O. J. Curry North Texas State College

### *Resolutions*

George Hunsberger, Chairman University of Arkansas	Aldon S. Lang Baylor University
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### *Constitutional Amendments*

G. W. McGinty, Chairman Louisiana Polytechnic Institute	W. H. Baughn Louisiana State University
J. L. Charlton University of Arkansas	D. B. Brand University of Texas

### *Audit*

James M. Owen, Chairman Louisiana State University	Robert E. Seller University of Texas
Arthur T. Roberts Texas Technological College	E. V. McCullough, Jr. Louisiana State University



## PROGRAM

### Southwestern Social Science Association

Thursday Evening, March 29

#### Executive Council of the Southwestern Social Science Association

7:30 PM

Parlor D

Meeting

Friday Morning, March 30

#### Accounting Section

9:00 AM

Parlor A

*Chairman:* Elzy V. McCollough, Jr., Louisiana State University

1. *"Accounting and a Thirteen Period Calender,"* Roderick L. Holmes, Baylor University  
Discussion: Walter S. Manning, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas
2. *"The American Accounting Association Statement on Accounting Concepts and Standards,"* Daniel Borth, Louisiana State University  
Discussion: William F. Crum, University of Wichita

#### Agricultural Economics Section

8:30 AM

Parlor D

*Chairman:* H. J. Meenen, University of Arkansas

*General Topic:* Agricultural Marketing and Potential Marketing Innovations in the Southwest

1. *"Guide Lines in Building a Research Program in Marketing Service,"* D. B. DeLoach, Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture  
Discussion: George Judge, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. *"Possibilities of Increased Sales of Plants and Cut Flowers by Packaging and Selling Through Grocery Stores,"* Harold Sorensen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
3. *"Broiler Marketing Developments in the South,"* Paul Roy, Louisiana State University
4. *"Dairy Consumption Habits,"* L. V. Blakely, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
5. *"The Consumer's Preference for Meat,"* V. James Rhodes, University of Missouri

Open Discussion

11:00 AM

*Chairman:* G. P. Collins, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

*General Topic:* Agricultural Policy Proposals

1. *"The North Carolina and Illinois Proposals,"* J. A. Kincannon, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

## Bureau of Business Research Section

8:30 AM

Parlor E

Tour, Southwest Research Institute

Gather for departure from Plaza Hotel in group at 8:30 AM from Parlor E

## Business Administration Section

9:00 AM

Parlor C

*Chairman:* George Heather, Texas Technological College

*General Topic:* Effective Teaching of Business Administration (Six 10-minute talks)

1. *"Teaching Methods — An Evaluation and Recommendation,"* Jean D. Neal, Sam Houston State Teachers College
2. *"Enrichment of Theory Courses with Local Business Practice,"* Willis J. Wheat, Oklahoma City University
3. *"Research and the Undergraduate Student of Business Administration,"* Paul V. Grambach, Tulane University
4. *"Educational Programs for Local Businessmen,"* Robert W. Barclay, University of Houston
5. *"An Effective Classroom Testing Program,"* James W. Parsons, Baylor University
6. *"Measuring and Rewarding Effective Teaching,"* William A. Nielander, University of Wichita

10:15 AM

Group Discussion

## Economics Section

9:00 AM

Walnut Room

*Chairman:* H. R. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University

*General Topic:* Recent Developments in Economic Theory

1. *"Recent Developments in Interest Rate Theory,"* S. L. McDonald, University of Texas  
Discussion: Charles F. Haywood, Tulane University  
Questions from floor: Seven minutes
2. *"Increasing Cross Fertilization of Economic Theory,"* David Hamilton, University of New Mexico  
Discussion: L. H. Merzbach, Southwestern University  
Questions from floor: Seven minutes
3. *"Areas of Controversy in Contemporary Economic Theory,"* H. L. McCracken, Louisiana State University  
Discussion: J. E. Hodges, The Rice Institute  
Questions from the floor: Seven minutes

## Geography Section

9:15 AM

Ballroom

Chairman: Martine Emmert, Texas Christian University

1. *"The North Canadian River Valley: A Study in Water Use,"* Ralph E. Olson, University of Oklahoma
2. *"Caves — A Recreational Resource of the Southwest,"* David C. Winslow, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
3. *"City Planning Norway, With Special Reference to Oslo,"* Magne Omundsen, City Planning Office, Oslo, Fulbright Scholar, University of Texas
4. *"Microenvironment Closest to the Ground,"* Pablo Guzman-Rivas, University of Texas (to be read by Charles McIntosh, University of Texas)

10:50 AM

Chairman: Arthur Doerr, University of Oklahoma

1. *"The Physiography of the Bayou Manchac Midden,"* Phillip B. Larimore, Louisiana State University
2. *"Significance of the Archaeological Remains of the Bayou Manchac Midden,"* Frederic Hadleigh-West, Louisiana State University
3. *"The Portuguese Algarve,"* Dan Stanislawski, University of Texas

## Government Section

8:30 AM

Ballroom

Chairman: James Jensen, University of Houston

General Topic: Modern Political Theory

1. *"The Resurgence of Conservatism in Contemporary Thought,"* H. Malcolm Macdonald, University of Texas
2. *"Theory of Bipartisanship in American Foreign Policy,"* August O. Spain, Texas Christian University
3. *"On the Nature of Constitutional Democracy: Commentary on Lippmann's Concept of the Public Philosophy,"* Walter E. Sandelius, University of Kansas

Discussion: Mrs. Evelyn Blagg Huey, North Texas State College

## History Section

9:00 AM

Roof Garden

Chairman: Ted Worley, Arkansas Historical Commission

General Topic: Some Social Problems in the Southwest

1. *"Judge Lynch in Mississippi, 1835,"* Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston
2. *"Origin and Development of Mexican Migratory Labor in the Southwest,"* George A. Coalson, Texas College of Arts and Industries
3. *"American Protestantism and the Revived Ku Klux Klan,"* Robert M. Miller, Texas Western College
4. *"Contemporary Crosscurrents of Progressivism and Conservatism in Arkansas,"* Orville R. Yeager, Ouachita Baptist College

Discussion: R. W. Steen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

## Sociology Section

8:30 AM

Roof Garden

Chairman: Charles N. Burrows, Trinity University

General Topic: Social Work Education

1. *"Some Contributions of Literature to Social Work Education,"* Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
2. *"A Ten-Year Experiment in Undergraduate Field Experience in Social Work,"* Reba Bucklew, Texas State College for Women
3. Roundtable: Students Look at Training and Preparation for Social Work

Chairman: Mildred Rosenthal

Students: Margaret Bennett, Edgar Graham, Jr., and Betsy Lassen

10:00 AM

Business Meeting

10:30 AM

Chairman: Harry E. Moore, University of Texas

General Topic: Race Relations

1. *"Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes and Desegregation,"* A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas
2. *"Tolerant—Intolerant Attitudes among University Students,"* Jiri Nehnevajsa, University of Colorado
3. *"The Impact of a Tornado Disaster upon a Minority Ethnic Group,"* Fred R. Crawford, Texas Technological College
4. *"A Study of Attitudes of a Selected Group of Ministers toward School Integration,"* Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College
5. Discussion: Robert L. Sutherland, University of Texas

## Student Sociology Section

9:00 AM

Parlor F

To be announced

## FRIDAY LUNCHEONS

### Accounting Luncheon

12:00 Noon

Walnut Room

Chairman: Tom Rose, North Texas State College

Address: *"Some Problems in Accounting Education,"* John Arch White, American Accounting Association

### Business Administration Luncheon

12:00 Noon

Ballroom

Address: *"Services Available from the Small Business Administration,"* Wendell B. Barnes, Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D. C.

## General Education in the Social Sciences: The Introductory Course

Luncheon

12:30 PM

Parlor C

Address: *"Work of the Special Committee on Liberal Education at the University of Texas,"* Frederic Meyers, University of Texas

### Friday Afternoon, March 30

#### Accounting Section

1:30 PM

Parlor A

Chairman: Lloyd Morrison, Louisiana State University

1. *"The Development of Auditing Techniques in the United States,"* Allan T. Steele, Northwestern State College  
Discussion: Robert E. Seiler, University of Texas
2. Business Session
3. *"Some Changes in Accounting Terminology,"* Earl Clevenger, University of Tulsa  
Discussion: George N. Fair, Louisiana State University

#### Agricultural Economics Section

1:00 PM

Parlor D

General Topic: Agricultural Policy Proposals (Continued)

2. *"The Wisconsin and Purdue Proposals,"* C. Curtis Cable, University of Arkansas
3. *"Retired Acres and the Soil Bank Plan,"* Joe R. Campbell, Louisiana State University  
Open Discussion

Chairman: C. A. Bonnen, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

General Topic: Selected Current Research Areas in Production Economics

1. *"Risk and Uncertainty Arising From Soil Moisture — Yield Relationships and Their Influence on Farmer Decision in the Great Plains,"* R. J. Hildreth, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College  
Discussion: James W. Bennett, Texas Technological College
2. *"Economic Accounting Problems Involved in Evaluating Alternative Pasture-Forage Systems,"* D. G. Lafferty, University of Arkansas  
Open Discussion  
Business Meeting

#### Bureau of Business Research Section

2:00 PM

Parlor C

(Joint Meeting with Business Administration)

*"Business Administration Programs and the Industrial Development of the Southwest"*

4:15 PM

Parlor E

Business Meeting

## **Business Administration - Bureau of Business Research (joint meeting)**

2:00 PM

Parlor C

*Chairman:* Burton R. Risinger, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

*General Topic:* Business Administration Programs and the Industrial Development of the Southwest (Six 15-minute talks)

1. "Management Courses and Industrial Development — Trends and Relations," Leon Megginson, Louisiana State University
2. "Marketing — Today and Tomorrow," George H. Zeiss, Jr., Southern Methodist University
3. "How Can Industrialization Be Aided by a Bureau of Business Research," P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
4. "Promoting Labor-Management Relationships," George Guido, Jr., American Arbitration Association
5. "Finance and Banking for Industrial Growth," Charles E. Walker, The Republic National Bank of Dallas
6. "The Contribution of the Private Research Agency to Industrial Development," Lawrence J. Tidrick, Southwest Research Institute
7. Group Discussion

4:15 PM

Business Meeting

## **Economics - Geography Sections (joint meeting)**

2:00 PM

Walnut Room

*Chairman:* Sam B. Barton, North Texas State College

*General Topic:* Resources

1. "Conservation in Production of Petroleum," Erich W. Zimmerman, University of Texas  
Discussion: W. N. Peach, University of Oklahoma  
Questions from floor: Seven minutes
2. "The Price of Natural Gas," Richard J. Gonzalez, Humble Oil and Refining Company  
Discussion: Robert L. Rouse, Texas Technological College  
Questions from floor: Seven minutes
3. "Energy Revolution in American Agriculture," Clay L. Cochran, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association  
Discussion: W. M. Caskey, Mississippi College  
Questions from floor: Seven minutes

4:30 PM

Business Meeting

## **Geography Section**

2:00 PM

Walnut Room

(Joint Meeting with Economics Section)

4:30 PM

Ballroom

Business Meeting



## Government Section

2:00 PM

Ballroom

Chairman: To be announced

General Topic: Latin-America: Constitutions and Politics

1. "A Composite Latin-American Constitution," J. Lloyd Mecham, University of Texas
2. "Recent Developments in Argentina," Louis G. Kahle, University of Missouri
3. To be announced

Discussion: R. D. Mack, Texas Technological College

4:00 PM

Business Meeting

## History Section

2:00 PM

Roof Garden

Chairman: Alfred B. Sears, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: Oil Exploration and Development in the Southwest

1. "The East Texas Field: The Discovery Well," William J. Murray, Jr., The Railroad Commission of Texas
2. "The West Texas Field: Discovery Operations," Robert L. Martin, University of Oklahoma
3. "Three Epochs of Petroleum," James A. Clark, *The Houston Post*
4. Discussion: Michael A. Blatz, Information Director, TIPRA

## Sociology Section

2:00 PM

Roof Garden

Chairman: William L. Kolb, Tulane University

General Topic: Social Theory

1. "Sociological Theories of Bureaucracy: A Critique," Jack E. Dodson, University of Texas
2. "Theoretical Models in a Comparative Sociology of Work," Robert C. Stone, Tulane University
3. "Human Dignity and Social Science," Franz Adler, University of Arkansas

3:00 PM

Chairman: Donald D. Stewart, University of Arkansas

General Topic: Research Methods

1. "The Function of Marginality in Social Research," Gideon Sjoberg, University of Texas
2. "Formulating City Manager Types," George K. Floro, Louisiana State University
3. "A New Method in Housing Research," Byron E. Munson, North Texas State College
4. "A Consideration of the Guttman Scaling Technique," Leta McKinney Adler, University of Arkansas

### **Student Sociology Section**

2:00 PM

Parlor F

To be announced

### **General Education in the Social Sciences: The Introductory Course**

5:00 PM

Walnut Room

Business Meeting

### **Friday Evening, March 30**

#### **Conference Dinner**

7:00 PM

Roof Garden

*Presiding:* O. J. Curry, First Vice-President, North Texas State College

*President's Report:* John W. White, University of Arkansas

*Conference Address:* Roland Valle, Cameron Visiting Professor, Trinity University

### **Saturday Morning, March 31**

#### **General Business Meeting**

8:00 AM

Ballroom

#### **Executive Business Meeting**

9:00 AM

Parlor A

#### **Accounting Section**

9:00 AM

Parlor B

*Chairman:* Chester F. Lay, Southern Methodist University

1. *"The Certified Public Accountant as a Business Consultant and Independent Controller,"* Joseph Dranguet, Southern Methodist University

Discussion: Emerson O. Henke, Baylor University

2. *"More Effective Elementary Accounting Teaching,"* Reginald Rushing, Texas Technological College

Discussion: Dudley Curry, Southern Methodist University

#### **Agricultural Economics Section**

9:00 AM

Parlor D

*Chairman:* B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University

*General Topic:* The Low Income Problem Within Agriculture

1. *"National Policy Measures to Implement Research and Local Initiative to Reduce the Low Income Problem within Agriculture,"* W. E. Hendrix, Agricultural Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion: W. B. Back, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

2. Round Table on Research and Rural Development, J. H. Southern, Agricultural Research Service, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, Discussion Leader

- (a) *"Research in Progress and Planned Within the Southwest Region,"* J. H. Southern, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
- (b) *"Research Objectives and General Procedure in a Pilot County,"* Clarence A. Moore, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
- (c) *"Possibilities of the Community Approach in Rural Development Within Low Income Areas,"* Paul H. Price, Louisiana State University
- (d) *"Formulating Plans for Rural Development in Pilot Counties,"* T. E. Atkinson, University of Arkansas
- (e) Open Discussion

### Bureau of Business Research Section

9:00 AM

Parlor E

Chairman: Leland McLeod

General Topic: Current Business Research Activities in the Southwest (Seven 10-minute Talks)

1. *"Current Business Research Activities in Arkansas,"* Merwyn G. Bridenstine, University of Arkansas
2. *"Current Business Research Activities in Louisiana,"* P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
3. *"Current Business Research Activities in New Mexico,"* Ralph L. Edgel, University of New Mexico
4. *"Current Business Research Activities in Oklahoma,"* Francis R. Cella, University of Oklahoma
5. *"Current Business Research Activities in Texas,"* John R. Stockton, University of Texas
6. *"Current Business Research Activities in the Dallas-Fort Worth Area,"* A. Franklin Murph, Texas Christian University
7. *"Current Business Research Activities in the Houston Area,"* Alan D. Carey, University of Houston

### Economics - History - Government Sections (joint meeting)

9:00 AM

Roof Garden

Chairman: To be announced

General Topic: Issues in the 1956 Election

1. *"The Farm Problem as an Issue in the 1956 Election,"* John McNeely, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. *"Our Foreign Policy,"* Hans A. Schmitt, University of Oklahoma
3. *"Implications of the Labor Merger in the 1956 Election,"* J. H. Leek, University of Oklahoma

Discussion: Byron Abernathy, Texas Technological College

## Geography Section

9:30 AM

Parlor C

Chairman: Yvonne Phillips, Northwest Louisiana State College

1. "*Berlin, Problems of a Divided City*," Klaus Schroeder, Free University of Berlin, Fulbright Scholar, University of Texas
2. "*Cultural Landscapes in Surinam, South America*," John H. Vann, Louisiana State University
3. "*Map Reading Readiness in the Elementary Schools*," Lorrin Kennamer, East Texas State College

10:45 AM

Chairman: Elizabeth Sterry, Southwest Texas State College

1. "*A Plea for Better Geographic Writing*," Arthur Doerr, University of Oklahoma
2. "*Crest Yards-Boon for Transportation Geographers*," J. Edwin Becht, University of Houston
3. "*Plans for the 18th International Geographical Congress, Rio de Janeiro*," Edwin J. Foscoe, Southern Methodist University

## Sociology Section

9:00 AM

Walnut Room

Chairman: Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University

General Topic: Social Psychology

1. "*Social Psychology of Industrial Injury*," Leonard G. Benson, North Texas State College
2. "*The Distribution of Psychoses by Selected Characteristics in Texas, 1951-52*," E. Gartly Jaco, University of Texas
3. "*A Case History of an Alcoholic: The Process of Resocialization*," Elwin H. Powell, University of Tulsa
4. "*Post-War Adjustments of Prisoners of War*," Charles B. Davis and Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
5. "*Communications and Social Structure: Patterns of Information Exposure among Workers in a Rural Town Community in Brazil*," Thomas L. Blair, Jarvis Christian College

10:30 AM

Business Meeting

## EXHIBITS

Textbook exhibits by some of the leading publishers will be open for the duration of the meetings. These will be on the Mazzanine floor of The Plaza Hotel. Representatives of the book companies will be glad to confer with members and visitors. These companies have been most generous in their financial contributions to the Association. Their exhibits will be of very real interest to all social scientists.

### Exhibitors

#### D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

*Represented by* . . . . . Jack Armstrong

#### HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC.

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#### SOUTH-WESTERN PUBLISHING COMPANY

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R. D. Cooper

### General Exhibit of Books

#### J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

#### THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY

*Spring Announcement:*



**New Revision**

**Introductory SOCIOLOGY 5th Ed.**

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The revision of this outstanding text will include new material redefining sociology and culture, as well as a timely treatment of de-segregation and small group studies.

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The author has thoroughly re-worked and up-dated his book in light of the dynamic changes of the past fifteen years in this important area of social control.

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by JAMES T. WATKINS, IV,  
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**DIPLOMACY  
IN THE NEAR  
AND MIDDLE EAST**

In Two Volumes  
by J. C. HUREWITZ,  
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"The book has the warm human touch of a social scientist who really cares about the welfare of people; it has also the lucidity which systematic classification and theoretical analysis impart to inquiry into the complex socio-economic reality of modern days. . . . This book should be welcomed by students and instructors alike. It sparkles, in many places, with the wisdom of a great humanitarian and the insights of a keen observer."

—Rainer Schickele, *Journal of Farm Economics*

1953

727 pp

\$6.00

## **The Business Law of Real Estate**

by **GERALD O. DYKSTRA**, University of Michigan  
and **LILLIAN DYKSTRA**

In this combination text and case book the authors discuss and illustrate the legal principles and rules pertaining to real property. Utilizing hundreds of court decisions, they fully consider the problems associated with the ownership, conveyance and management of land, including the legal rights and duties involved, precautions to be taken, and how the prospective businessman may become a more intelligent client for legal counsel.

1956

852 pp

\$7.50

## **Effective Advertising Copy**

by **MERRILL DEVOE**

Incorporating the all around advertising know-how of leading experts, this comprehensive text emphasizes the applicability of the principles of effective advertising copy to all types of media. The author deals fully with the findings of recent copy research and psychological applications, stressing throughout the primary function of advertising copy: "giving the consumer a good reason to buy."

Published in the Spring

## **Economic Geography Revised Edition**

by **CLARENCE F. JONES**, Northwestern University  
and **GORDON G. DARKENWALD**, Hunter College

"Clarence Jones and Gordon Darkenwald have provided 612 pages of encyclopedic yet meaningful data on man's utilization of the earth, illustrated by 442 maps and photographs. . . . The revision is extensive, and the book will be welcomed by teachers, students, and the general reader."

—George B. Cressey, *Science*.

1954

612 pp

\$6.75

## **The Fundamentals of Accounting** Revised Edition

by **DONALD H. MACKENZIE**, University of Washington

This revision of an established text develops the subject of accounting from defined concepts of costs and revenues, following this with a discussion of the profit and loss statement and the balance sheet. Included in the revised edition are new problems that have been successfully tested in the classroom, new chapters on process cost accounting and statement analysis, and three new practice sets.

Published in March

*The Macmillan Company*

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

**"the most stimulating and imaginative treatment of social science to come my way in recent years — or in any years."**

*—from a pre-publication review by  
Professor J. A. Burkhardt, Stephens College,  
Columbia, Missouri.*

## **Society and Man**

*by MEYER WEINBERG, Chairman, General Social Science Course,  
and OSCAR E. SHABAT, Chairman, Social Science Department,  
both of Wright Junior College*

Here is a new text, hailed by pre-publication reviewers as a unique and exceptional approach to the study of social science — a thorough, systematic examination of American social values in action and conflict.

In **SOCIETY AND MAN** the authors report on the research of some sixty prominent social scientists to give the student an inside view of the ways in which social scientists reach their conclusions. The reports are illustrated with a large number of specially prepared explanatory and graphic charts, maps and tables. In addition, there are many pertinent halftones. Study aids include lists of the main points in each study; annotated list of scholarly studies, novels, and plays for each chapter; and summaries by the authors.

*760 pages*

*7" x 9¾"*

*to be publ. April, 1956*

**A new revision of one of the most successful texts in social research . . .**

## ***Scientific Social Surveys and Research,* 3rd Edition**

*by PAULINE V. YOUNG, Research Sociologist at Large*

Extensively revised, this new 3rd Edition is enriched with new insights, illustrations, materials and bibliographies. Covering in simple terms the basic principles underlying scientific procedure, the book discusses the sources of information, how to test their reliability, and the various methods of securing them.

*approx. 550 pages*

*5⅝" x 8⅝"*

*publ. March, 1956*

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